

CIVILIZATION
AND THE
WORLD WAR

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MORSE



ANSON DANIEL MORSE

CIVILIZATION AND THE WORLD WAR

BY

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FOREWORD

IN THIS supreme war belligerents and neutrals plead that what they do is done in the interests of civilization. Each people sincerely believes that its own existence is bound up with the safety and welfare of civilization, to which the war has become a menace. Evidently this is the bond, real or supposed, which gives to each belligerent group a common cause. To invoke civilization is to appeal to a patriotism both higher and more comprehensive than national patriotism, and also more fundamental, for its concern is for the security and well-being of those things precious to all men, outlasting the lives and fortunes of particular states.

Since all the combatants claim that they are acting in the true interests of civilization, it is evident that there is hopeless divergence of view in respect to its nature. This essay sets forth the result of efforts to find right answers to these questions: What is civilization? What is the nature of the process by which individuals and peoples become civilized? How in its motives, aims, and methods is the war related to this process? By what means and with what arrangements for the future can the struggle be brought to an end so as to insure the best good of all nations, and restore to its normal working, but with increase of efficiency, the civilizing process?

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These are the questions of the hour. To their solution many may hope in some measure, however small, to contribute by offering the best that is in their hearts and minds.

This discussion necessarily falls into two parts : the inquiry into civilization which establishes the standards for civilized peoples and nations, and the testing of this war and of the two groups of belligerents by these historically established standards.

ANSON D. MORSE

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INTRODUCTION

THIS book is offered to the public partly as a tribute to a man whom very many Americans delight to honor and partly as a unique study of a problem that is uppermost in their minds — nothing less than the nature of civilization and the relation of Germany to it. Is she a civilizing force, or has she stood squarely across the course of this great movement? Does she still stand there, and can the world, as it struggles back to the level that it occupied before the war, get help or hindrance from the great empire in its new and democratic form? The theme itself will challenge attention, and the rare personality of the author will heighten the interest that readers will find in his treatment of it. Great numbers of his countrymen will be glad to know what Anson D. Morse thought of civilization and of Germany, and will expect to have their own views clarified thereby. For pupils and associates he was a never-failing source of light and leading, and they visited him in his home on Pelham Mountain much as the friends of Thomas Jefferson, whose life he so

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long and profoundly studied, resorted to Monticello. What does Professor Morse think about the origin of the war, about Germany's designs, about the change which the forty years following 1871 made in the character and purpose of the German people? In this crisis what is the duty of America? Is it time for her to enter the struggle? On these and other points many came to lean on his judgment until, on March 13, 1916, sudden death called him away.

Grey Rocks, Professor Morse's summer home, nestles under the shadow of modest Pelham Mountain, as Delphi nestles under the more ambitious height of Mt. Parnassus. It commands one of the most beautiful views in New England, extending far up the Connecticut Valley to the mountains of southern Vermont, to the peak of Greylock on the west, with the Berkshire range in the foreground and the picturesque Holyoke range partly bounding the view toward the south. It is a region abounding in a choice type of American life—villages and farms, schools and colleges, manufacturing centers of the kind that does not disfigure the landscape or seem to make order and progress insecure. The site is remote enough from actual business, public and private, to be highly favorable for developing a genuine science of it, as well as for a scientific study of

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party and party government and of the contributions made to them by Jefferson, Hamilton, and other leaders of our republic. It was there, with the press bringing daily the news of the great struggle, that Professor Morse reached the conclusions which this book records. That which will particularly strike a reader who remembers that the manuscripts out of which the book has grown were completed within the first two years of the war is the rare manner in which, in writing it, he anticipated on many points the best conclusions that the world holds now. Germany has within the last three years strikingly corroborated Professor Morse's estimate of her. In flaming letters she has recorded a plea of "guilty" to his indictments. Her grasp at wide dominion and her treatment of those whom she sought to subjugate have at last fully introduced her to the world as he already knew her in 1916.

A biographical sketch in the *Amherst Olio* for 1897 says in substance:

Professor Morse was born at Cambridge, Vermont, in 1846. The place is under the slope of Mount Mansfield, where a sensitive boy could not fail to acquire an ardent love of nature in its grander and its more delicate features. His parents were Harmon and Elizabeth Murray Morse, typical New Englanders of the best class. His early life

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was spent on a farm, and his education during this period was received, first, at a district school and, later, at Johnson Academy and St. Albans Union School. He had done some teaching before his admission to Amherst College, but when he entered in 1866 his preparation was still inadequate, and this placed him at a disadvantage in comparison with other students. The consciousness of this disadvantage became, in his case, an incentive to hard work. Rapidly his scholarly standing improved — a fact attested by his winning the prize for the greatest improvement in Greek and more fully expressed by the estimate of his attainments that was current among fellow pupils and teachers. From an early date his scholarship was rated as on a par with that of the best men in the class. Handicapped as he was, he had overtaken his competitors, and as a writer he was preëminently successful.

An illness caused him to fall back from the class of 1870 to that of 1871, with which he was graduated. He then spent a year in traveling in Italy, France, Germany, Denmark, and England. From 1872 to 1875 he was a teacher at Williston Seminary, after which he had another year in Europe. A close association with Professor Julius H. Seelye, under whose presidency he afterwards served, should be mentioned as among the larger influences that gave direction to his early scholarship.

Though he enjoyed, in 1883, one more term of foreign study, it is from the date of his return to America from his second European trip, in 1876, that his continuous work at Amherst dates. In that year he lectured on political economy. In the following year he became professor of

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political economy and instructor in history, and in 1878 he was appointed Winkley Professor of History and Political Science. During much of the time when he held this double title the actual work of teaching political economy was done by others and his own work was kept within the historical department, and after 1892 his title was that of Professor of History. In recognition of scientific studies in American political history, Union College conferred on him the degree of LL.D., and Amherst College later gave to him the same degree.

In 1878 Professor Morse married Margaret Duncan, daughter of Z. Stiles Ely, Esq., of New York. They have had seven children, six of whom are living. The surroundings of his home reveal the fact that horticulture was his recreation.

Professor Morse gave glimpses of his political and historical studies to the public in a number of articles with the following titles: "The Place of Party in the Political System"; "The Natural History of Party"; "Alexander Hamilton"; "The Political Influence of Andrew Jackson"; "The Democratic Party"; "The Republican Party"; "The Cause of Secession"; "The Increase of State Control and its Causes"; "Moses"; "Preparation for Citizenship at Amherst College"; "Equality of Taxation"; "What is a Party?"; and "Causes and Consequences of the Party Revolution of 1800." Five of the articles appeared in the *Political Science Quarterly*, while others have been published in the *American Historical Review*, the *Yale Review*, the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, and elsewhere.

Later articles were "The Politics of John Adams," "The Commercial Relations of American Countries," "The

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Significance of the Democratic Party in American Politics," and "Special Chapel Service at Amherst College, June 10th, 1902." Professor Morse also wrote two articles for the Eleventh Edition of The Encyclopædia Britannica, — "The Republican Party" and "The Whig Party."

All the world knows that civilized government is becoming highly democratic, but it does not so clearly see that the organ for expressing and enforcing the will of the people is *party* and that our own country is the best one in which to study it. The investigations which Professor Morse made in this field have probably not been made by any other scholar.

Honors and responsibilities sought Professor Morse despite his absorption in study and his quiet and retiring tastes. He was an Elector of the Hall of Fame, and it was the wish of President Julius Seelye that he should accept an appointment as assistant president or acting president of Amherst College. It would have placed him in line for promotion to the headship of the college, but he felt that the claims made upon him as scholar and teacher were even greater than those which the office of president would have made.

If his works on party and party government and on the influence of early American statesmen had been completed, they would have carried his

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teaching to more than one generation of students and readers who never sat in his classroom. This more modest book will bring to them his conception of civilization, of Germany, of the relation between the two, and of the means — a League of Nations — for insuring the upward movement of humanity from another reversal such as German ambition has caused. It will reveal his view of morality as the corner stone of civilization. Though he knew what some economists have taught about "economic harmonies," — those natural laws that cause men to benefit others when they are seeking to benefit themselves by zealously and intelligently producing wealth, — he knew that this cannot happen unless they respect the rights of others. Morality is essential to a harmony of interests among individuals, and one leading fact presented in this book is that the same is true, with added emphasis, of nations. When a country grows rich by invention and discovery and by the efficient organization of its economic forces, it throws much into the general pool from which other countries draw. There is a harmony law for nations as well as for men. Given liberty and safety for states great and small given a definition of their rights and a disposition to respect them, and they may thrive together; but not if

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the ethical force—the unseen and eternal thing that in beginning and prosecuting this war Germany has overlooked—is allowed to lose its efficiency. Very timely, at the end of the war, is a discussion of international problems in the light of these principles of conduct which apply to all times and places.

The large circle of those who admired and loved the author of these studies will feel deeply grateful to his devoted wife and children for the able and difficult service which they have performed in arranging in orderly connection the many incomplete notes from which the treatise has grown. It is thanks to Mrs. Morse, her sons, Anson Ely and William, and her daughter-in-law, Margaret Hincks Morse, that Professor Morse still speaks—to us who have known him and to many who have not had that privilege—words of light and leading.

JOHN BATES CLARK

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PART I. CIVILIZATION

CHAPTER I

MEANING OF CIVILIZATION

WHAT is civilization? It is the sum of things in which the heritage of the child of the twentieth century is better than that of the child of the Stone Age. As a process it is the perfecting of man and mankind. As an end it is the realization of the highest ideals which men are capable of forming. In other words, it is the aggregate of gains that man has made since his emergence from the condition of the brute, the end of which is the ideal man of the future perfected in his entire nature.

This goal of civilization is wider in scope than individual man; it is human society so organized in all its constituent groups that each shall yield the best possible service to every other one and thereby to mankind as a whole. Acceptance of this goal means conservation of the family and every other social group, including the state, which is essential to the perfect organization of humanity.

The direction of the goal is pointed out to inquirers by those who have already started toward it; but the end of the course itself is infinitely far,

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for man's ideal of the perfect becomes greater and better with every step of the advance. In this there is no ground for discouragement, but, on the contrary, for the deepest satisfaction. It is in this fact of the infinite remoteness of the human goal that a chief difference between man and his humbler fellow creatures exists. The human goal recedes as it brightens; theirs can be reached within a single generation. The world is full of perfect insects, but does not contain one perfect man. He who has made the greatest advance realizes best the length of the road on which he has started. Man has achieved much and is now achieving at a rate which exceeds by far the most rapid earlier rate, but the completely civilized man has not arrived nor will he arrive within measurable time. Therefore the satisfaction which any people can justly feel in the degree of civilization which it has gained can be large only when compared with those stages achieved at earlier dates. If, however, a people in the light of such comparisons ventures to regard itself as near or, indeed, as having already reached the goal of civilization, it proves that both its conception of civilization and its estimate of its own progress are wrong.

In comparing the inheritance and opportunity of the human child just as the dawn of civilization was

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in its faint, earliest flushing with that of the child of civilized parents to-day, we need, in order to realize the immensity of the advance, to note at least the following differences: first, the relation to nature. There was then no scientific knowledge; certain natural effects were noted, and their bearing on safety, food supply, and comfort, as well as on danger, famine, and suffering, were understood and acted upon, much as woodchucks, foxes, wolves, deer, and migratory birds understand and act upon them to-day. Knowledge of nature was limited to what could be observed within a few miles of the place of birth, for until the art of making fire and certain of its uses were discovered, and some knowledge of methods of navigating was acquired, the range of migratory movement was extremely limited. As to coöperation with his kind, there is small evidence of a higher degree or a wider range than we see among wild animals now. In respect to community organization it was inferior to that of many insects, notably bees and ants. In regard to ideas of justice and humanity, there was in conditions then existing little, if anything, that favored their rise and growth. Of the past nothing was recorded in such a way as to make the experience of earlier generations useful.

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Then came, at a date we cannot fix,—but which must have been so remote as to make the building of the pyramids seem an event of recent times,—the first of a series of discoveries that enabled man to break through the barriers which until then had held him as inexorably as to this day they hold his fellow animals. Probably in the beginning, at some point in the early Stone Age, a prehistoric individual discovered by accident that he could satisfy some want by a method hitherto unused. This happening—it may have been the use of stone as a weapon or a fragment of wood as a club—would naturally have a powerful reaction on the discoverer; he, and others who saw him use the new weapon, would sooner or later make habitual use of this way of satisfying a frequently recurring want. Exploiting this one happy discovery would not only advance sensibly the power to cope with enemies both animal and human but would tend in time to waken into higher activity the latent discovery-making powers.

There followed next a period, also vastly extended, to which the name savagery is given, when, with the invention of the bow and arrow, war and hunting must have been general and almost incessant occupations, and in which man became a maker of

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weapons, tools, pottery, and garments, learned many of the uses of fire and articulate speech, and with these and like acquisitions was enabled to begin that conquest of nature and those modifications of his environment which in their reactions on himself are perhaps more wonderful than those which have followed the great revolutionizing discoveries of the last century and a half.

As civilization relates exclusively to that period of the "Ascent of Man" since his way of life parted from that of his fellow animals, we cannot regard as its sources those appetites, desires, experiences, emotions, and reactions from struggles with nature which he shared with the lower orders—during a vast period which exceeds many times the length of that for which there are authentic records—while his condition was no higher than theirs. But there can be no question, on the other hand, that after his emergence these factors which have played so large a part in his development as an animal have continued important. The difference, so far as we can tell, between the human animal and his fellow animals was, and is, that he is capable of civilization and they are not.

In each period the evidence is conclusive that from the beginning of distinctly human existence

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to the present day, war has played a great part in the affairs of mankind. In the animal world man is preëminently the fighter. He fights, as do all animals, for food, safety, development, and opportunity to satisfy the reproductive instinct, which primary needs, felt more or less consciously, are common to all living things. He fights also, as they do not, for ideas and aspirations of which, so far as we can judge, other animals know nothing, and it is precisely for these ideas and aspirations that he fights hardest.

Not all changes within this vast stretch of time are to be reckoned as gains. On the contrary, every vice that has originated among civilized peoples and is still prevalent in civilized communities, such as drunkenness or the drug habit, is a large and distinct loss, and such are the manifold practices—found only among men—which impair vigor, pervert nature, demoralize men, and both retard and lessen their possible achievements. Despite the appalling wastage due to the vices of human individuals and social groups, the sum of man's gains thus far encourages the hope of incomparably larger ones in the future. The true measure of the benefits of civilization is the balance of well-being that remains after subtracting from its acquisitions

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all the evils incident to its rise and growth — evils not found in the state of savagery or barbarism. This balance is impressively large.

The history of civilization has been the record of deliverances from fears: first, of voracious animals stronger than man (a fear which in civilized lands has almost ceased) or of venomous reptiles (immunity from which is not yet complete) then of microbes of disease, in which large and rapid progress is being made, with the prospect of complete deliverance in a not remote future. But these fears (almost if not quite universal) have not wrought such deadly havoc, even when their object took the awful form of continental or intercontinental pestilences, as have those whose source was in man's cruelty to man, the thousand forms of which are lust for power — personal, temporal, ecclesiastical — lusts of the flesh, and lust for unearned riches and for glory. From these the world has not yet found deliverance, but is to-day more exposed than ever before. They arise from man's irrationality and unrighteousness and are produced by unjustifiable wars — fears in which the World War has been pre-eminent. As hitherto, each of the old apprehensions has been removed, and deliverance has inaugurated in every case a new move forward; so now, despite

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the recourse of Germany and her allies to the method of securing their ends by arousing fear, there is strong ground for hope in the reactions of far the larger portion of mankind against them, that the result of their policy will be to make impossible in the future such a recrudescence of world-desolating savagery.

How shall we find what civilization is? It is the human response to the divine command: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." This command establishes the goal and also the standard by which men can judge; that which makes man Godlike builds up civilization and that which makes him fiendlike destroys it, — decivilizes.

This injunction of Christ was, it is true, addressed to human individuals, not to peoples. Christ did not say: "Be ye a perfect people, reflecting in your national traits the characteristics of your heavenly Father," but, "Be ye perfect as men." He was not speaking to one or all nations as such; His audience was neither national nor, in any truly representative sense, international; it was larger than either, for He was addressing the individual man before Him as impersonating mankind everywhere and always. In like manner His words were meant for each man and woman in all their relations to their fellows.

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We may learn what civilization is by noting the respects in which individuals who, in the judgment of the inquirer, are the most civilized differ from the least advanced or, better yet, from those not wholly civilized ; for instance, by comparing Darwin with the barbarous peoples whom he studied on his voyage in the *Beagle*, or Livingstone with the African savages whom he visited and whose love and confidence he won. Such comparisons — if everything trivial or accidental is ignored and attention fixed only on those things which human experience and opinion point out as working for or against human welfare — establish criteria by which we may surely distinguish between civilized and uncivilized man, between the more highly and less highly civilized. We may also get similar results from comparing with one another the largest economic, religious, social, and cultural associations, and the state itself.

The essential quality of the gains (which when aggregated constitute civilization) is that each assists in the normal unfolding of human powers and normal evolution of man's nature. It is invariably characteristic of them that they tend to the health and conservation of the human race, adding to instead of subtracting from the competence of man to satisfy his rational needs, pointing out the

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way to further progress, increasing happiness and well-being, and preparing the individual and group for higher ideals and more efficient measures toward their realization. They must be of such nature that the appropriate benefits are not for one alone but for many — for all; for if limited to a single individual they disappear when he dies and cannot become a factor in the continuing life and progress of man; in short, each gain may mean and should be so used as to mark a definite step forward in the perfecting of man. Thus the test by which we can learn amid the Babel of contradictions what the true relation of a human purpose or act is to civilization is to ascertain whether it adds to man's powers and whether it turns their use to beneficent ends. Is it in accord with the plan of nature? Does it make for general increase of welfare and happiness? Does it bring men more closely together in working for the common good? Does it tend to help the individual and group to find each his rightful place in the world-order? If so, it is civilizing.

The use of each acquisition determines whether it is a gain or a hindrance; for instance, one of the earliest is knowledge of the art of producing alcohol. From this both good and evil have resulted. There is no question that alcohol has uses wholly beneficial.

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but common indulgence in it has proved almost suicidal to backward peoples and has affected large classes and countless individuals among more progressive nations so injuriously as not only to shut them out from most of the benefits of civilization but in many cases to make them a public burden and an impediment to its advance. This explains why in the judgment of a large and increasing percentage of the better citizens of civilized states the net result of its influence is held to be greatly harmful.

In this perfecting process the cult of the beautiful has an important place. It seems probable that this expression of the deeply implanted yearning for beauty began in a very early period. Ever since man became developed enough to produce weapons and utensils out of stone and metal, we find evidence of this in his handiwork; and in all his ascent each stage is usually marked by a higher style of artistic achievement. Indeed, progress in the fine arts—using that word in its broadest sense—is rightly regarded both as an indispensable means and a measure of advance in civilization.

Religion and civilization are related in the most vital and intimate way; without religion civilization is, indeed, unthinkable. It may, however, according

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to its nature and the character and policy of its disciples, be either the greatest of its promoters or the greatest of all its many foes.

If religion is the relation of created and dependent beings to their Creator and Ruler, to God, and if, as seems evident, its spirit, form, and realized obligations vary as ideas of God and his requirements vary, it becomes clear that there are naturally as many religions in the world as there are individuals who have had the disposition and ability to reach conclusions of their own as to the nature of their Creator and what he requires of his creatures. Such men have been rare. The conclusions of a very few men have been accepted and made the rule of life by immense numbers; hence, while founders of religions have been individuals, their proselytes have been vast multitudes, nations, and even races. One of the most noteworthy results of the march of civilization is the increase in the number of those who think independently in regard to such matters; hence, on the one hand, rigidity of belief and practice has relaxed in proportion to increased enlightenment; and, on the other, open schism in established religion and concealed departures from orthodoxy, as well as new sects and types, have been multiplied.

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Of all human obligations the most comprehensive and binding are those which concern the safety of civilization and its advance. To preserve without impairment all gains made in the past and as much as possible to enlarge these — to add to their number and extend their benefits as widely as possible — cover the great duties of the living to ancestry and posterity, to past, present, and future. If this be true, then every man and group associated for a legitimate end is a guardian of inherited civilization and a trustee on whose fidelity depends in part the welfare of those as yet unborn.

Looked at as an inheritance, civilization is a treasure so varied and vast that every heir, whether an individual or any one of the social groups, may choose what he will — little or much, moral, intellectual and æsthetic, fine and rare or more common material, — and, according to the choice made, contribute to the common store for present use and for that of generations to come. There are in this inheritance subdivisions (racial, national, local, and family), and heirs will as a rule be guided by their natural bias in selecting from the different sections of the great store. What one takes does not lessen what remains for others; what one adds does increase the possible supply for all future heirs.

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To realize what civilization is and what it offers to every human being and social group in this second decade of the twentieth century since the birth of Christ is the greatest and most rational ground for hope, as well as the deepest source of inspiration and high obligation, that can appeal to the mind and heart of man. In it we have the best that mankind has achieved and freely offered to us, and through its use we declare to the present and interminable future our worthiness or unworthiness to administer this, the highest of all trusts committed to human kind.

CHAPTER II

THE CIVILIZING PROCESS

THE true subject of history in its largest meaning is the perfecting of man — the civilizing process; and those tendencies, movements, and events of history are of chief importance that show its workings.

This process begins with aspiration for what is better and leads to efforts growing more and more sustained and successful toward its realization. This is nothing else than the breath of life — the very soul of civilization. So long as this aspiration lives, and so far as it controls conduct, he who feels it is becoming civilized and is helping to civilize others, provided always that what he thinks is better than before and that the means he uses in efforts to realize this are wisely employed.

In the case of most living things, satisfying the primitive universal hungers is the substance of their life record. Only in the lower orders can they be provided for by the individual acting alone. Long before we reach the human species we discover

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that without coöperation no one of these hungers can be satisfied to any considerable extent. The efficient unit in the preservation and extension of any form of life is no longer the individual but the group.

Civilization consists in socializing the individual; and the civilizing process has worked in the past as a slow uplifting of social human groups,—at first for comparatively few members, such as the family, clan, and tribe, where the common bond was recognized kinship, and then of groups so enlarged by alien elements of the subjugated and enslaved that great communities could be formed. In these, fortified cities were built, orderly governments established, armies and navies provided; agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce were prosecuted so successfully by mathematical instead of haphazard division of labor and by intelligent superintendence that the primitive wants could be satisfied by the community more fully and economically than by the unsocial individual or the small group of closely related kinsmen. In this way the state came into existence.

There are in this socialization two distinct processes: one issuing in the development and welfare of each person, the other in their working together

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in groups for the common good. These attain the ends of their being by pointing out the way and preparing their members for taking effective part in progressively promoting the aims of the groups, beginning with the smallest and proceeding to the largest,—organized humanity.

Among the large group divisions in which civilized men work together for the benefit of all, we have the economic, religious, political, and public-service groups (including army, navy, diplomatic, consular, court, and legislative), and the educational, cultural, recreative, and social groups, from the family unit to neighborhood and local-community associations, wherever one human being reacts upon another in ways that influence development of character and conduct. These will be found to differ widely: some stimulate, encourage, and kindle aspirations, and, on the whole, exert a powerful influence for betterment; while others are weak, negligible, or, perhaps, distinctly harmful. This is unquestionably true of schools, possibly so of religious associations, and surely so of recreative associations—some teaching good morals and manners, fairness, courtesy, and manliness; others, morals and manners that are evil; it is true also of mercantile corporations and other economic groups, and, indeed, of all groups.

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With whom do the ideas originate which create a new and better ideal? With individuals, we answer, because its existence is first made known through the word or deed — better, by both word and deed — of some one man. Whence come these new and better ideals to individuals thus distinguished? Some reply, "By inspiration." If we accept inspiration in its larger meaning, in accordance with which the inspired man is in closer communication than his fellows with the eternal source of truth and wisdom, this reply should suffice. The impressiveness of the new ideal is conditioned by the felt need of what it promises, as well as by the personality of its prophets; the success of its propagandists depends on these same conditions, also on the zeal of the propagators and their skill in influencing sources of public opinion. Finally, the success of those whose task is to remold the character and conduct of individual citizens and of the groups through which they coöperate with their fellows, to bring them into conformity with this ideal, depends very largely on three things: fidelity to this ideal; practical, constructive skill as reorganizers of social institutions; and adaptation of them to the requirements of a new or modified policy. For the first of these we need the qualities

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of prophet and martyr, the highest type of whom is Christ, prophet and founder of Christianity. For the second is needed the genius of apostle and martyr, as St. Peter, St. Paul, and all the faithful pastors, missionaries, and laymen who, by precept and example, have been making Christ known to the world during the nineteen centuries since the Crucifixion. For the third are needed the qualities of prophet, apostle, and martyr conjoined with the statesman, exemplified by all the celebrated ecclesiastics, reformers, founders of religious orders and educational systems, some noted rulers, and many philanthropists, who have labored through this long period to Christianize human institutions, laws, and customs, social spirit, and public policy.

Thus the man who first conceived and taught the idea that imprisonment for debt was unjust and inhumane to the debtor and those dependent on him, of doubtful benefit to the creditor, and degrading to the state was a civilizer, as were all who worked with him for its abolition. This is true of countless other ameliorations in the interest of higher justice, larger freedom, and humaner conduct both public and private. These measures all originate with individuals, usually private citizens, who bring them to public attention.

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When the movement thus started and supported reaches the stage where legislation is to be secured, the essential steps toward success are also taken by individuals. This is true in democratic countries and in those where the people enjoy a large measure of self-rule. If an advance in civilization is made in countries under despotic governments—as, for example, in Russia under Peter the Great, or Prussia under Frederick the Great—this is also the work of an individual. It follows as a concern of first importance that civilization depends for its progress on individuals; only those peoples can take a large part in its promotion which produce a great number of citizens capable of and disposed to do this work—citizens who are by nature and purpose civilizers.

Conditions of efficient operation of the civilizing process in the individual are that he must recognize the true relation of his personal good as subordinate to the general welfare or, rather, that in advancing this latter he realizes in its highest form his own good. The egoist can be a civilizer only by accident, never by purpose. The civilizer must have an open-minded attitude toward new or unfamiliar ideas, not to be attained at any age easily, but in early life more easily than later. That this

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attainment is naturally difficult, slow, and imperfect is not without its advantages, the most important of which is the stability of the existing stage of civilization until its fruitage can be secured. On the other hand, failure to attain it is fatal; without it no man can help to perfect himself or others except in the very slight degree attainable by his absorbing civilization unconsciously, that is, without coöperation of his personal will. It often happens that the receptivity of early life, during which some advance is willingly made, is lost later. The individual becomes a reactionary; that is, one who insists that the civilizing process shall stop at the stage he has already reached.

We shall find, moreover, that the ideal of the perfect man held by any one man differs from that held by every other. How, then, can men and groups coöperate in working to establish a particular type of civilization? Just as they do in working together in political and religious associations, by putting into the program only those points on which they agree and those over which their disagreement is not radical or on which they admit of compromise.

The proper function of every organized social group is twofold: to help the individual in perfecting

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himself and developing his individuality in the highest degree and best form, and to provide the means through which he can work with others for their common good. These functions are ignored, and in their place injurious ones assumed whenever we find national interests sacrificed to sectional, local, class, or group interest.

At the beginning of each stage of the civilizing process the comprehensive problem is, How can man, despite the brute, savage, and barbarian still surviving in him, and despite the appalling number and destructiveness of his suicidal vices, rise from the highest plane of civilization already attained to one still higher? He cannot wholly eliminate the brute, savage, or barbarian; each is too strongly established, too useful. What he can wisely undertake is to provide new safeguards against their undue influence and, especially, against their dominance. In other words, each scheme of progress needs to build on foundations established by nature in primitive man. Equally true is it that each needs to retain all that is sound in the structure reared during the stages subsequent to barbarism.

If this process is to maintain health and efficiency, it must preserve the well-being of all the elements

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by which its end is reached. The individual must continue the perfecting of his powers and capacity to do what the world needs to have done, and must also, as far as compatible with the welfare of his will, submit it to the social will. He cannot, beneficially to the general good, carry this submission further, for that would impair his capacity for social service. In determining what is right—for example, protecting the family or state from danger—there should be no surrender by the individual will of the judging function, but its consistent, full assertion. When it comes to action this necessary surrender should not lead to loss or debility of the individual will, for when each man and the different groups resign to it definitely their minds and wills, they abdicate their rights as agents of social progress and lay down the arms by which alone they can fight its battles.

The law of this process is to produce the individual who embodies as far as possible a distinct advance toward the ideal of civilization and to protect him, or rather induce him, to protect himself against egoism (which would make him a curse to himself and his fellows) by his self-consecration to the task of raising mankind to a higher level

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—to that of his own highest ideal. In executing this task he works in two ways: through direct personal influence on men where his efficiency is measured by his love for them and their responsive love and admiration for and confidence in him, as well as by his energy, tact, and wisdom. Everyone influenced by him becomes his disciple and carries to others the gift he bestows on them through those institutions that are schools of civilization. Since each group is exposed to the danger of egoism, and has before it the same open road to success as has the civilizing individual in his work with his fellows, its task is to influence their fellow groups to reject everything making for egoism, renew its own altruistic self-consecration, and render itself more efficient in the special civilizing functions which are its reasons for existence.

It follows that the health and fruitfulness of the civilizing process depend vitally upon the way in which these institutions conceive and execute their allotted tasks. Nowhere does misapprehension or perversion of function work so disastrously as in family and state. In such a condition each, instead of being guardian and promoter of civilization, becomes its worst enemy and most ruthless destroyer. The perverted family breeds criminals instead of

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useful citizens; the perverted state sacrifices on reeking altars the most beautiful and costly fruits of civilization.

There are higher and lower elements of civilization: those of use solely for the increase of wealth are distinctly of the lower; while those which bring about its more just distribution and rational use are distinctly of the higher, as are those which aim at protection of life, alleviation of suffering, recognition of rights, and elimination of egotism and passion in controversies between individuals and social groups. It is essential to efficiency of the civilizing process that right use be made of material products—wealth which each generation produces and in whose increase its ambition centers. Otherwise it will become not subsidiary to the ends of civilization but a hindrance to its attainment. This actually happens whenever wealth, instead of being employed to advance the human individual and group in their proper service to civilization, is used to impair this functioning on which all progress depends. Proper uses of wealth, regarded from the standpoint of individual welfare, are development of all one's powers of health of body, mind, and spirit, and increasingly fruitful exercise of these enlarged and disciplined faculties in altruistic service. But if

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wealth produced by man is used by him only in egoistic ways, which gratify the appetite rather than help to realize altruistic aspirations, it stands to reason that the result must be to make wealth so used a curse. The decivilizing results to the individual of its abuse are easily traced and estimated; they are equally unmistakable and disastrous to every human group,—the family, local-community, religious association, political party, cultural group, and the state itself,—though less readily discerned and measured.

Since neither human beings nor groups can be depended upon to keep within the limits of their proper functions, provision must be made for protection against individual and group egoism. Humanity has expended infinite effort for this purpose, but the results at present are far from satisfying. It is still true that most of the evil of the world has its source in the egoistic disposition and conduct of the individual and group, seeking to appropriate for their own special uses all good things that belong to the world as a whole. Egoism in the bad boy explains most of the acts which are the basis of his ill-repute and accounts for the confirmed criminal. Egoism of husband, wife, or child wrecks the family; and egoism in a business, large or small, makes it dishonest and predatory. Egoism in society renders

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it corrupt and corrupting; egoism in a political party makes it too often unfaithful to its principles, arrogant and tricky in relation to its rivals, and treacherous to the state. Egoism in the church saps its power and dishonors religion; while egoism in the state renders it not infrequently the generator of immorality in its citizens through flagrant disregard of moral obligations toward their fellow citizens and toward other states.

This egoism of ambitious and aggressive states is the main source of destructive international wars of conquest, with all their horrors of suffering, and the slaughter of millions of men who would gladly have done their part as civilizers had they been permitted to live. To die loving and loved is victory and immortal life; to die hating and hated, a fearful doom. Such is the fate which the egoistic state inflicts upon its best citizens in return for their misplaced trust and devotion.

By historic analysis we see that the civilizing process consists, first, in a modification of the existing ideal of civilization by incorporating with it one or more new elements and so reconstructing this ideal as to make it harmonize with them; second, in such a reconstruction of the character and conduct of the individual citizen and, through him, of the socializing

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groups, as to make them a true expression of the reconstructed and improved ideal.

Do boundaries of the state fix limits within which this ideal operates? Not necessarily; for the ideals set up by the French Revolution passed far beyond the boundaries of France and in some degree beyond those of Europe. Instead of suffering civilization to become the monopoly of one age, one people, or one favored social group, it should be diffused as widely as possible, with the intent that all shall become sharers to the limit of their capacity, making every individual, every legitimate association of individuals (including the state), and all international organizations its duly accredited and wisely instructed agents.

Often this new ideal is so related to the nation in which it originates, and is so timely as a means appropriate to satisfy its particular needs in a special phase of development, that it has little or no immediate acceptance outside the boundaries of the state where it is established. The tendency of such limitation is to found a national type of civilization in each state unlike that of all other states. As this process goes on there come into existence a French type, an English, a Spanish, and many other types. Each has its own distinguishing characteristics; and when we reflect that these reconstructions of

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the national ideal affect profoundly tastes, manners, character, and conduct, it is evident that they must become the source of misunderstanding and want of sympathy—possibly of actual antipathy—between nations until, in their fuller development, they become irreconcilably hostile. This has happened in Europe; Teutonic, Magyar, and Turkish types of civilization, while differing much from one another, agree in this: each is radically antagonistic to the democratic type prevailing in western Europe and to the strong instinct for freedom of the people of Russia—each is irreconcilable with the spirit of all democratic peoples. This leads to what has been aptly termed “armed peace” and then to war, unless any of the hostile types is so superior in men, munitions, and general preparedness or, on the other hand, in resources moral as well as physical, that the supporters of the opposed types do not venture upon war. Two distinct types of civilization have thus been evolved: one the autocratic, aristocratic, and militaristic type, represented by Prussia and Prussianized Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey; the other, democratic, represented by the Allies. These two types have instinctively worked against each other—at first covertly, and recently more or less openly—until the result is the World War.

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But if, on the contrary, the natural line of development, owing to common traditions, language, and institutions, is in the same direction, and one of a group of nations leads in a progress where the others are disposed to follow, the nation originating the ideas leading to reconstruction of its ideal is likely to be accepted as leader, and its forward step becomes a source of closer sympathy and understanding. This has often been illustrated in the relation of France to other nations. One natural result of this differentiation of national types is to tempt each nation to overvalue its own type—particularly if that nation is powerful, confident of its future, and ambitious—and correspondingly to depreciate and perhaps scorn other national types. This tends to conservation of particular types, hence to their unprogressiveness. In order that constant progress be made by a people it is necessary that they learn from others; and this is true of those best satisfied with themselves,—most inclined to think that others are in need of what they can teach and can teach them nothing. This state of mind historically has led usually, if not always, to the end of progress and to the beginning of retrogression.

As a rule we think of civilization as a unified thing, and in one sense this unit is a fact. In all

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civilizations certain common principles and aspirations are the real basis on which rest our hopes of an eventual world-unity that shall bring world-peace. When we look not to the present or the future, wherein these great hopes are to be realized, but to the past, in which their basis was established, we find also that in so far as there has been true peace,—one of amity, good will, mutual understanding, and spontaneous, hearty, and fruitful coöperation,—it has been due to agreement between peoples in regard to the higher elements of civilization. Impressive illustrations of this truth are found in the history of religion; for example, agreement in these respects brought together, in common support of Islam, tribes generally discordant and at times warring. Belief in certain elements of civilization as highest united the peoples of Christian Europe in religious concord and common opposition to Islam: first, defensively, from the seventh century until the Ottoman Empire reached its limits of expansion; afterward, aggressively, in conflicts in Spain, Italy, and throughout Europe; and later in the Crusades—a movement which continued to the end of the first Balkan war and the last enterprise of Italy in Africa. Indeed, all through the history of civilization we find apparently opposing,

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but in the end coöperating, movements resulting in creation of numerous local forms of civilization not only diverse in type but hostile in spirit. On the one hand, these have tended to broaden the foundation of general civilization and enrich its content; and, on the other, have led to war, with its long train of mingled good and evil. (Think what Christendom and Islam have bestowed on each other and also how desperately they have fought to destroy each other!) Both movements have served, now serve, and throughout the future must continue to serve the highest interests of mankind while proving themselves sources of great actual and potential evil. Political, economic, and social history records these two movements. It grows clear that the civilizing process can reach its goal only through evolution of many national kinds of civilization—sharply differentiated types interacting on each other, no one of them perfect, but each contributing something toward perfecting the finally dominant type.

The highest degree of freedom possible to be maintained consistent with public order and justice is an essential condition of producing many types of improving quality. Despotism, on the contrary, stereotypes what is favorable to itself instead of fostering new ideas and aspiration for

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better ideals. In the ancient world the uncontested supremacy of a single type at a particular period brought to an end the perfecting of this process, embalming the corpse of a type which had lost capacity to advance and was but a hindrance to further human progress.

To sum up: What are the chief obstacles to the perfecting of man as an individual and a social being, which arrest and may actually turn back the forward movement of civilization? They are egoism, individual and group (particularly of the national group); denial of justice, friendliness, and good will; refusal to coöperate; self-debasement; use of policies which degrade or pervert; destructiveness; inhumanity; violations of faith; anarchism; irreligion; ignorance, intemperance, and bigotry.

On the other hand, the qualities supporting and upholding the civilizing process are individualism, altruism, justice, friendliness, coöperation, a passion for perfecting self and others, respect for nature and the natural, reverent and reasonable conservatism, humanity, fidelity, open-mindedness, love of religion and of science, cult of the beautiful, magnanimity; and sound public opinion as to the just distribution and rational use of wealth.

CHAPTER III

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IN THE mandate "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's" we have a recognition of the place of the individual in the moral order of the universe. He is obligated to the state and also to God, and on him, when a conflict arises between the claims of Cæsar and of God, rests the responsibility both of deciding what belongs to each and of carrying this decision into effect. Every human being, child or adult, becomes an heir of civilization in proportion as he fulfills this obligation. In this power and duty to decide what belongs to God and what to human authority consists his freedom and dignity, and also his greatest peril. If he decides rightly God will be with him, but Cæsar will be against him. If he decides wrongly he will make himself acceptable to Cæsar, but God will be against him. Of all human beliefs none are so pernicious as the two clashing doctrines that Cæsar and God are one, or, on the other hand, that ecclesiastical authority and God are

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one. They may agree, happily they often do agree. Again, they may disagree, one commanding what the other forbids. When this happens, as it often does, the individual comes to his own; at whatever cost of sacrifice he must give to each his due.

What we call the prompting of nature, when nature is normal, is the voice of God; when nature is abnormal and perverted it is the voice of Cæsar, not as God's representative but as his foe. Cæsar's authority is to be respected and obeyed only when he is God's faithful delegate; in every other case, "It is right to obey God." Does this lead to anarchy? No; certainly not in the end, but rather to the rule of law. This is the affirmation, in the clearest way, of the will to obey righteous rather than unrighteous law and signifies, therefore, in the person who exercises this will the presence and compelling power of the disposition to reverence and obey legitimate authority. It is true that even passive resistance to unjust and mischievous law may lead to disturbances but not, of necessity, to impairment of public and private morals. On the contrary, its proper effect is the restoration of morals to health.

Who is the civilized individual, — man, woman, or child? Whose influence is civilizing? The one who assimilates in his own nature the gains already made

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fosters the growth and perfecting of his own personality, takes a worthy part in helping his fellows to this assimilation, and does what lies within him to advance and improve this type. In his presence every mortal capable of civilization feels a freshened impulse to be better, new courage to overcome in self or environment all hindrances to realization of a better self through altruistic service, as well as love, admiration, and loyalty toward the one who awakens these impulses.

The life of every human being has in the individual only its basis and beginning. Its growth, beauty, and fruition — its perfecting in character and achievement — are possible only in and through expansion of the separate life into that of his fellows and every group with which he is associated. He who remains merely an individual is like a seed which begins to germinate and then perishes; he does not become civilized, neither does he help to civilize, — that is, perfect others. He must not isolate himself; his own perfecting, and the contribution he can make to his fellows, depends on living and coöperating with them and drawing constantly closer to them.

The development of the individual should proceed along lines marked out by nature, so that he is seen to be nature-made and self-made rather than

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government-made, society-made, or teacher-made. The earliest years of the child are devoted to self; his impulses, so far as normal, are to find and enjoy the satisfactions which make for developing and training his powers and his nature in its entirety. The family, the group of playmates, the school, the church, and the community, as well as those strong personalities who embody the results of civilization, are determining factors throughout childhood and youth. As they do well or ill their part in his development and education, in most cases the individual will help or hinder the civilizing process, in whose maintenance and promotion it is his high privilege to assist, his shame to antagonize or treat as a matter of indifference. By these and all other educational means, the lessons that he has greatest need to learn are that he has rights, — to be himself instead of a mere imitator of some other person unlike himself, and to have his rights, all of them and each in its fullness, respected. Also that he has a right to the conditions on which the growth and well-being of his whole nature depend, such as food, care, protection, play, affection, willing help, safe guidance, and proper instruction. The second important lesson is that he has obligations toward himself, his playmates, and schoolmates, toward members of his family, relations, friends, and

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fellow citizens, and toward authority in the home, school, local community, and the state; obligations to respect the rights of others and be kind and helpful to them. These are the foundations on which depend very largely success in the world-discovering and self-finding years of youth and the self-forgetting and service-rendering years of manhood. Before the close of these years his introduction to the universe and his efforts to find his own proper place and functions therein begin. Even in early years the real seriousness of later ones should not be wholly hidden from the child.

From the first day when the child consciously begins to learn, to the latest, the one guiding rule is that doing teaches best how to do and that contact with the basic facts of life — actual living — teaches best how to live. The question what the future of the child is to be, if considered in all its bearings, is the most important with which mankind has to deal. He is the delegate of that division of the race which has already done its allotted share of work for the welfare and progress of humanity, and is committed to the care and training of the generation now responsible for maintaining and advancing the well-being, present and future, of the race. If his future — determined to a large degree by ancestry as well as

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by his immediate parents ; determined also, perhaps, to an equal degree by the state — is rightly apprehended by those whose privilege and responsibility it is to do for him all he cannot do for himself, it becomes much more probable that he will do his part. His glorious destiny is to serve the higher interests of his fellows. It may be clouded before birth or during the years of his nurture by the misconduct of ancestors, parents, or state, or, on the other hand, it may be assured to a considerable degree by their right conduct. When the child, however, becomes a man or woman, whether well or poorly equipped, his career is largely, but not wholly, in his own hands. To some extent, whatever parents or public may have failed to do for him, he is yet obligated to do what is possible with his one talent or fraction of a talent. He is still in a measure able to become a civilizer and, according to that measure, responsible.

How should the child be received? Gratefully and reverently. The fact of parenthood is an imperative summons to public service, and in answering this parents become as truly guardians and trustees of the public interest and welfare as do those who accept important official positions in the state. Parenthood rightly dealt with marks transition from

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that stage where the proper claims of nurture and development of self take precedence to that higher stage where service of self is subordinated to that of others. If the parent rightly meets these responsibilities, he becomes, however humble his station, a benefactor of the world, entitled to the loftiest destiny — that of being recognized as a civilizer.

What is true of parents is likewise true of institutions and social groups which share with them in upbringing the child. In so far as they help him to become and do his possible best, they ennoble themselves and are rightful partners in his achievements; in so far as they hinder or tend to make him a perverter of the civilizing process, they share in his shame and doom.

How can they who are charged with this upbuilding of the young best meet their obligations? By being as well as teaching what they would produce in their charge. If they love him wisely and would have him kind, let them be kindly affectioned toward him and others. If they would have him just and conscientiously regardful of all rights, let them frankly recognize and truly respect his rights and those of others. Would they have him merciful, let them show mercy to him, to man and to beast; if they would have him master of his appetites and passions,

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let them show a like mastery; and if they would have him a friend of nature, a prudent user not a waster of her good gifts, let them teach him this by consistent example. If, properly mindful of man's origin, dependence, and destiny, they would have youth reverent, obedient, and loving toward the Creator and Ruler of the universe and open-minded to every manifestation of His will,—let them be likewise. If the parents of to-day were what they ought to be,—what we venture to hope those of the future will be,—then with their children a new world would be born. If only the treatment of the child and the development and training of his entire nature in the home, where the first and most lasting impress both of good and evil is made, were what it should be, it would matter comparatively little what happened to him elsewhere and later; he would as a rule respond to the good and reject the evil.

In youth his path is safest who does not wholly forget the instincts of prudence with which nature equips the child and yet who walks in the light of dawning maturity; throughout adult life he is sanest, happiest, and most helpful to his fellows who continues to feel and play as a child and respond with the ardor of youth to the finer beauty, the larger goodness, and the growing wonder which the years unfold.

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In adulthood come new experiences, such as meeting private and public responsibilities and forming associations which carry on the civilizing process, especially if the individual is susceptible to such influences. But before he responds at all freely to them the egoism of childhood, which earlier is useful, nay, indispensable, has to be overcome. In a true sense the perfecting of the individual, as of all legitimate groups (including the largest, the state), consists in substituting for egoism, altruism. Thus, in the early years of manhood commence his lifelong labors in the service of mankind, success and happiness in which are measured by what he adds to the well-being of others, failure and misery by what he takes away.

The family is associated closely and vitally with other institutions — the local community, society in the narrower sense, religious, political, and cultural groups, the state, and mankind. Normal relationships within any particular family tend to reproduce themselves when new ties are being formed. Unfortunately history gives many examples of the family putting its interests above those of the state; and where the blood feud is still strong the welfare of the community is subordinated to the egoism of the family. However, it is a general principle that altruism in the family proves capacity for altruism in the

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larger groupings. This is due to the fact that the family, with its primary function of rearing children, lays the foundations of civic life by giving to the parents a new and vital interest in the future and in those institutions (including the state) through which their posterity can be safe and attain to well-being.

The child passes from the family to the school, whose civilizing function is to impart useful and widening knowledge to the pupil and to train and develop heart, mind, and body into fitness for civic duties. The world is just perceiving what a mighty influence for progress schools are when under right control, or, under wrong control, what a power for reaction. Schools, in their present form, devoted to the purpose of educating everyone, are comparatively modern. They explain to a greater extent than is popularly supposed the rapidity with which fundamental changes in people are brought about. Innovations have recently taken place in theories of teaching, and there is wide divergence of view as to what the child should be taught in the public schools. The instruction varies as do the theories, but the effect produced may be great enough in some states to revolutionize the attitude of the people toward their own and other states. Hence it is obvious that too earnest attention cannot be

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given to study of the school system in each country. Through it each adult generation has an opportunity to repair the havoc wrought in private and public life by the defects of the system in which its own training was received, and also to generate new as well as strengthen old forces that make for civilization.

What is this system in its entirety which so vitally affects the individual? While we rightly think of it as the formal organization in which the education of the young is carried on from infancy to manhood, it embraces also those agencies which continue this work for the adult. It includes every institution which seeks to influence his character and the character, aims, and conduct of his generation. The press, the pulpit, and many agencies that come into being largely, if not mainly, for the end of public instruction carry on this work. It is of exceeding importance that they shall teach right things in the right way, and collectively cover the entire range of subjects concerning which instruction is needed.

In these schools the youth comes into intimate touch with his fellows of like age and pursuits and into contact more or less close with professional teachers who undertake to guide and help him in getting the training, knowledge, and wisdom which

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he seeks. Here, too, the primary requisite is that the teacher shall have the qualifications that distinguish good parents, thorough familiarity with the subject, and highly developed skill in imparting knowledge and ideas. In shaping the character of his pupil he should build on sound foundations so far as they have already been laid,—to build on foundations wholly new entails waste and a meager and inharmonious result. No teacher can render his pupil the best kind of service save as he understands his individuality and makes that the basis of the structure he would erect. He should always combat in the scholar inefficiency in the search for truth, want of courage and fidelity in its application, and, finally, the egoistic disposition; he should eradicate these fundamental vices of mind and character and inculcate their opposites, namely, efficiency in the search for truth, fidelity to truth in thought and action, and devotion of self to seeking the welfare of others, which in the end brings to self the highest happiness and largest reward.

Shall the teacher undertake to make his pupil his own personal disciple, so that the scholar goes forth to enter the battle of life armed with his preceptor's doctrines? Through propagandism some teachers have helped a good cause, and others a bad one;

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but it is doubtful whether converting the student into a propagandist enlarges the service of a teacher as an educator or helps so much as it hinders his pupils' proper work. It is claimed that schools are natural nurseries of patriotism, and states have laid much stress on securing this result. If kept within bounds this is doubtless well, but there is grave danger that instead of a rational patriotism a narrow, demoralizing ultranationalism may be taught. This ignores all claims outside its own state, falsifies the facts of history, and grossly misinterprets those which it concedes, the result being that the pupil is both ignorant and prejudiced in regard to world obligations. Such teaching is surely inimical to one of the chief ends of civilization,—establishment of friendliness and coöperation between states. Another method, exemplified in the school catechism of Napoleon I, which undertook to indoctrinate the children and youth of France so as to assure the permanence of the despotic political system founded by him, is inimical to another of these ends,—establishing a form of government representing the people and responsible to them. Both sorts of instruction lead to evil,—are, indeed, some of the gravest perils to which civilization is exposed. They should be uprooted wherever

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discovered. On the other hand, a rational system of instruction in the principles of politics and international relations can be given which will enlarge the minds and hearts of those taught and also make strongly for just and friendly relations between peoples and for the settlement of enduring peace.

The first group in the order of time is the family, and if the youth responds rightly to its claims and opportunities, his original self-love rises and widens into family love. His sacrifices are no longer renunciation of a particular personal gratification, in order thereby to secure a larger one, but to promote the good and happiness of one or more members of his family or the family as a whole. Their concerns are his; their fortunes, their sufferings and joys, their thoughts, their hopes and labors, all are his. Instead of living wholly for self and in self he has begun to live for others and in their lives. His entire nature takes on a radical change in character, conduct, and happiness, and there results not only a transformation but a transfiguration.

As an individual in process of becoming civilized finds through his relation to the family the cure of much of his egoism, so he discovers the same influence working upon him for his own good and that of his fellows as he identifies himself, one

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after another, with each organized association, with which to the end of his life he deals coöperatively with willing mind and heart for the common welfare. In each case he acquires, if he rightly apprehends these relationships, the idea of a group personality from which he receives and, therefore, owes much, whose concerns so engage his thoughts, arouse his feelings, and direct his efforts that instead of remaining socially isolated and self-centered, he actually grows into a vital membership and an organic relation with a group of his fellows.

When we study the human institutions through which civilization is conserved and diffused, we find that this process takes place through the purpose and acts of individuals. They are the real conservators as they are the real beneficiaries of civilization. Families, neighborhoods, and cities, also economic, religious, and political associations, rise, decay, and disappear, but their fruits are embodied in unbroken succession, each generation handing on to the next the best — with sometimes also the worst — that was bequeathed to itself. Thus Hebrew, Greek, Roman, medieval, Renaissance, Reformation, Counter Reformation, and many other types of civilization have contributed in each case to this continuous process.

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Every group of human beings — if its purpose be right and strong and its environment favorable — may and will contribute to civilization by bringing about something new or needed, either as addition to or subtraction from existing types; and every person may do the same if he can develop his own individuality sufficiently in the right way and has force enough to impress it upon his fellows by his conduct. Such a man, through that part of his character and deeds which lives on after his demise, impresses permanently in one or more ways a group type of civilization. The group may be small and the modification slight, or it may be large, numbering like the United States more than a hundred millions, with the prospect of rapid increase. This is eminently true of Abraham Lincoln, for he, like Washington, made a deep and lasting impression upon the American people and other peoples who understood him. What he accomplished on a national, and (in some sense) an international, scale, others accomplish on a smaller scale, generally on an almost incomparably lesser one. Nevertheless this change for the better, although never entered in any formal record, lives on, becoming at last a common heritage. Christ is the greatest civilizer of Christendom; his true followers listen to his words, conform

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to the rules of living he established, imitate his example, and love and worship him as wholly human and yet — paradoxical as it may seem — as wholly divine. So long and so far as we remain Christian, so long and so far shall we grow into his likeness and thus represent the Christianized type of civilization.

In general it is true that each human being enters life with a certain prepossession for becoming civilized. This varies fundamentally: one inherits a large measure of social sympathy, another responds feebly to or opposes and rejects social stimuli. The former has in his nature, therefore, a guide and helper in efforts to become civilized; the latter is handicapped heavily.

The most comprehensive duty obligatory on each one is to add to human welfare. It should be true of him that during his life the world is better because he lives, and after he dies continues to be better because of his having lived. Of such men it was said, "Their works do follow them."

This comprehensive duty implies certain specific ones; for example, the duty to enlarge one's capacity as much as possible. This means the acquirement of the best attainable health, not simply of body but of mind and affections, so that in the essential matter of preparedness everyone, to the measure of his

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capacity, is to provide himself with health, strength, skill, right purposes, integrity of heart and mind, large stores of knowledge and wisdom, power to judge sanely, and habits which make for highest efficiency in accepting and discharging responsibility. This special preparation for the general duty falls in its earliest stage on the parents and friends of the young and on the community, but later increasingly on the young themselves. It goes almost without saying that this duty excludes every form of self-indulgence which lessens fitness; a flagrant violation is to contract any one of the insidious vices which destroy vigor and health in parent and offspring.

This duty is not solely that of the exceptional individual possessed of extraordinary powers of body and mind and favored by rare circumstances, but is just as much that of the man of average abilities or even less and whose opportunities are only those common to all. This great duty is the natural basis of rights. These rights are the necessary equipment of each man for discharge of God-given tasks. In general they are all those essential to the full performance of his duty; among them are the "right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," to the respect due his position and conduct, to equal justice with others, to kind treatment, to share in public

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duties on equal terms with all men, and to develop his powers and use his faculties to the greatest possible extent while recognizing the like prerogative of others to the same development. Among these faculties are the right to use the powers of the mind (free speech), to worship according to the dictates of conscience (religious freedom), and the right to political liberty and civil equality with fellow citizens, which prerogative can be justly abridged or forfeited by its abuse,—by uncivic conduct.

The essential differences between the life of civilized man and the brute may be summarized as follows: The civilized man cultivates feelings of good will and confidence toward all mankind, while the brute, as a rule, cultivates them only toward those of his own kind that belong to the same pack, herd, flock, or migratory group. This man concerns himself for the welfare of posterity—his own and that of his fellows through the limitless future; the brute in general only for that of his own young, and until they reach maturity. The civilized man recognizes moral obligations as between one individual and another, while there seems to be no such recognition among the brutes. Out of sympathy and the sense of obligation men, advanced beyond the stages of savagery and barbarism, care for their sick, aged,

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unfortunate, disabled, and suffering. Uncivilized men take comparatively little care of these, and the brute, as a rule, none at all. The curiosity of the civilized man extends to all the universe, that of the brute only to the small portion of his immediate environment that his senses disclose. Man consciously records his acts, thoughts, and experiences to be read by generations, even the remotest that follow; he may make himself heir of all earlier generations, the brute only of his own parents and of the group of that kind to which he belongs. The civilized man is religious and longs to be immortal; the brute, so far as we know, is destitute of any longing for religion or immortality.

What are the characteristics, therefore, of the civilized man? He is highly developed in all his faculties—physical, mental, moral, and spiritual—and fully trained in their use. A distinct individuality should emerge from this development and use,—to bring all to a common pattern is inconsistent with an advanced stage of civilization. While conforming to some extent to the general type, each man should originate to a degree a special new type, for only thus can he do work that others cannot, make advance over his fellows, personally contribute to the aggregate of achievement, and so stimulate others to do the same. On the other hand, he must not

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become an egotist, for that means either meager service or disservice to civilization. Certain fundamental characteristics of the civilized man, which are even more deeply implanted in the civilized woman, are a strong and ever-growing respect for the rights of others (particularly of those least able to assert these rights), marked and increasing love for them (expressed in acts of warmer friendliness), deeper sympathy, and greater consideration. These will impart to the manners of the civilized man, and particularly of the civilized woman, grace, tenderness, and assurance of magnanimity.

Civilized man is eager for knowledge and wisdom and for conserving all good things. He detects and rightly values the human in every one of his fellow men. Neither class nor nation, color nor race, hides from his eyes what binds mankind in its entirety together. He is efficient and shirks no responsibility; everything that affects the welfare of others he accepts as his own personal concern. He will not cause needless suffering to any living thing; on the contrary, he is the friend and protector of all those not harmful to human interests. His ideal of beauty grows constantly more true, and his life conforms more and more to that ideal. His appraisal of things both good and evil grows increasingly just. His

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patriotism is fervid but not blinding; while clear in discerning what is right and wrong in relation to his own country, and zealous in promoting the one and destroying the other, he is fair-minded in judging what is right and wrong for other countries. He seeks to coöperate with them for their good rather than antagonize and injure them. In brief, he applies to them the Golden Rule and shapes his conduct toward them by its precepts.

This man does his part toward bringing the forces and stored products of nature into the service of mankind, thus increasing the material means of its welfare. He is zealous to achieve a just sharing in wealth by the neediest and is increasingly desirous of bringing about beneficial uses of wealth by all. He is the relentless foe of vice in any form, but the steadfast friend of the simple, wholesome life. His spirit and example rebuke evil more than his words and awake in others desire for a higher life and creative effort. He is keenly sensitive to the wants of the weak and unfortunate and quickly responsive to their claims. While his disposition toward his fellows is rooted in sympathy and good will, his social conduct is shaped by a sense of what is most useful in helping them to self-help. He is not arrogant, but teachable and a peacemaker; he appeals

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to reason and humane sentiments rather than to force; he keeps faith and does not break his promises. The attributes of steadfastness, courage, and serenity are his. In his rating the interests of self stand lowest on the list. Whatever may seem to be true in prosperous days, when the crisis comes he will lay down his life that others may live. To the truly civilized man honor is dearer than life; thus he proves again that the way to save one's life is to lose it.

To him civilization brings prolongation of life and health, increase of power until near its close in extreme age and of knowledge and wisdom to its very close, access to continually higher sources of happiness as he avails himself with heart and mind of the enlarging opportunities that open up, truer views of the meaning of life, a judgment more clear and calm, growth in charity and love, deliverance from the dominion of appetite and passion, and the sure possession of tranquillity. Freedom and religion are his chief concerns, and to achieve immortality is his deep desire. He ever seeks to bring his own personal will into oneness with the Divine will. When in the course of nature he gives place to others, his spirit lives on as a human Holy Spirit, giving strength, comfort, and high aspiration to those who take up the tasks which he lays down.

CHAPTER IV

THE CIVILIZED STATE

WHAT is the place of the state in the organization of the human race? Perhaps the right answer to this question may help to solve the problem of to-day, namely, How to prevent the conditions which lead to war.

In the civilizing process the state is the organization whose function is to carry civilization to the highest point attainable by a single people. It is, with one exception, the largest and most powerful group form yet evolved in its influence for civilizing citizens, being the indispensable and most efficacious means whereby each one realizes his ideal. The state is powerful because, by regulating the struggle between individual and group ideals, it enables them through mutual action and reaction to generate great forces, while preventing them from reaching that degree of antagonism which makes them destructive. In and through the state men escape from the narrowing realm of self-interest and enter into the freer and wider life of serving the

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public. Of all good things it does for the citizen, perhaps none equals this in importance. Hence the enormity of the purpose and act through which one people would deprive another of its relationship to its own state,—leaving it stateless, without means for realizing the inestimable good of the civic life, as compared with that of the individual. In mitigation of this crime it is sometimes urged that the citizens of a subjugated state can transfer their allegiance to that of their conquerors. This, however, is impossible; they can never feel loyalty toward the state, which wrests from them against their will and passionate struggle the one possession dearest to them, their country. This act is chiefly an evil, not because of the suffering involved but because it takes from the subjugated this object of their great love, the most inspiring they possess, and puts in its place undying hatred, most harmful of all passions known to man. Only in relation to his own country can the citizen find his freedom; when his country is taken from him he becomes the slave of its destroyer.

The national state, potentially the strongest guardian of civilization, may also be its most dangerous enemy, its power to civilize being exceeded only by that of organized religion; and when, as

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often happens, the state is able to control this, it becomes capable of destroying civilization and interrupting, paralyzing, or even perverting the civilizing process.

This power is generated in the state through its superior material resources, through the obvious dependence of a citizen upon it for satisfaction of most of his needs (in particular the craving for social and political self-realization in which largely center the ambitions of most men), and through the dignity of the functions and impressiveness of the achievements of the state. Out of these arises the sentiment of patriotism which, in all times of crisis, places at its free disposal the fortunes and even the lives of its members. The national state, rightly constituted, is a people so organized that, for public purposes, in times of danger it may have one mind, one heart, and one will. Hence it is obvious that so long as it chooses wisely what it will attempt it can bring to pass wonderful gains for itself and the world, but if unwisely the results may be calamitous; as, for example, the results to Athens and mankind of her undertakings against Sicily; the results to Spain of waging war under Philip II against Protestants (Spanish and foreign) as well as her colonial undertakings, whose elusive

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splendor was purchased at a moral cost that in the end deprived her of her rank as a great power.

How can a state assure itself that a proposed policy is wise? The one safe way is to exclude the influence of egoistic motives when making the decision. Egoism—the will to build up self by degrading or destroying others—is the traitor within the civic citadel as surely as within the personal. It is the root of immorality; its exclusion is the first condition to be met when a people or government would decide wisely a question of public policy. It is also essential that the measure be just and humane, its working beneficent, and that it be timely. Every measure meeting these conditions will conserve civilization and give aid to the civilizing process.

The theory of the state as wholly selfish, as consciously hypocritical, whenever it professes to seek the good of another state for the sake of that state rather than for its own—for example, the supposition that France in all she did in the American Revolution acted without a particle of sympathy for our cause—finds support in the actual conduct of many nations in much of their career. Nevertheless it does grave injustice to certain nations (among them France, in this instance, and America, in her relation to Cuba), to the ideal of the state, and to the actual relationship

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of the more advanced peoples to that great common interest of mankind — civilization. This false conception of the state, as fulfilling its mission when it not only “seeks its own and not another’s good” but consciously uses another in ways injurious or even destructive to its welfare or existence, contributes perhaps more than anything else to making the state an agency of evil in the world rather than of good.

At present the world has a double standard of morality — one for the state, another for the individual. It seems inexplicable that men — as members of a family, labor union, political party, church, association for advancement of art, science, or betterment of life in any field, and, finally, as members of the state — are bound to be moral, while states themselves, aggregates of citizens, are absolved from this obligation. Are they thus absolved? True, many states act as if they were exempt from the common bonds of morality, and more than one system of philosophy so called undertakes to explain and justify the anomaly. There is at present no international tribunal able to enforce decisions in international matters, so that each state, either alone or with the help of others, is compelled to provide for its own safety and vindicate its rights; and each aggressively inclined nation is undeterred by the

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prudential considerations which go far to restrain the criminal propensities of the inhabitants of each state in relation to one another.

The worst evils which afflict the world are made possible — nay, inevitable — by this doctrine of state exemption from moral obligations, through which, by example and service exacted from its citizens in pursuance of immoral policies, the state becomes a teacher of immorality and a nurse of all that is anti-social in their nature. The man who supports his country in such a course, who rejoices when it is attained and to the end of his life opposes all efforts toward reparation, does a kind of violence to his own morals that weakens their very foundation. Such fruits of this doctrine, and the wars, desolations, and lasting enmities resulting from the policies growing out of it, present a terrible indictment of the doctrine itself. Moreover, it makes hypocrites, for all states which accept and act upon it undertake habitually to justify their conduct by sophistical pleas which either deny the facts alleged or laboriously try to make black look white.

This double standard of morality must be accepted or one of two alternatives followed: either the state must adopt for itself the same standard it demands of its citizens or it must force them to

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conform their standard to its own,—this is of incalculable advantage when the former is higher, and of equal disadvantage when lower.

The French, English, Americans, and many other peoples are all convinced that their own state is civilized and that it is commissioned to civilize other nations. This prompts the question, Are not the characteristics of such a state in the main the same as those of a civilized and civilizing individual? If so, we may affirm that it is just toward its own citizens, toward aliens within its borders, toward peoples without its borders in any way dependent on it for their welfare, and, finally, toward all other states of the world. In fact, the obligation to be just in all relations rests on the state as much more heavily than on the private individual as the influence of its conduct is greater for good than that of any one man.

☞ National civilization is the product of a particular people, group civilization that of a number of peoples, and general civilization that of all peoples which develop in their ideals, ideas, institutions, policies, arts, sciences, and discoveries anything that others find useful. The largest possible service of each state is through production of a new type of civilization based, it is true, on older types and

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modified by those in process of forming in contemporary states. To be useful this type must embody ideas, aspirations, and experiences which, in one or more ways, represent advance in the pathway of human progress. J

Each people, however small, provided it is large enough to perform the functions of a state, should be encouraged to build its type of civilization on its own foundations. As Viscount Bryce has pointed out, peoples very few in number and possessing but a small territory have been among the largest contributors to civilization. Therefore the world should set, in the possible results of the World War, a high value on preservation of small states. In them, in the future as in the past, ideas may originate like those which had birth in Judea and Athens, which have raised the world to a higher plane.

From this consideration alone it is clear that to suppress a state, and prevent it from carrying to completion its great task of producing a national type of civilization, is a crime not only against itself but against mankind. It is international murder and robbery, and countries guilty of these acts violate their duty to their victims and the world, just as the murderer and robber violates his duty to his victims and society.

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Not only should contributions to civilization and the civilizing process already made by an established state be regarded as an indication of what is expected of it in the future, but those of young states whose exact nature is still unknown should not be regarded as of minor value. Every people which in the past has given much and of the best was once adolescent, ready to begin that phase of existence where it was first possible to make this contribution. That largest gift of priceless value which Greece made to the world did not begin until after the Persian war. In fact, only her success in that struggle with Persia secured these opportunities for free development of the Greek type of civilization.

The world should value and cherish young nations whose work is just beginning, for the same reason that parents value their children, namely, as the chief agents through whom what they have achieved can be made a permanent good and basis of greater good yet to be realized. According to this view it would be calamitous if the war should result in suppressing or enfeebling Belgium or the Balkan States. If they come forth from the fiery furnace of the conflict with strength to free themselves from the smothering of their youthful national

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life by domination of foreign influences; if they secure as results of the World War such an impulse toward self-realization as did ancient Greece at the Pass of Thermopylæ and in the Bay of Salamis,—then the world may hope that in this issue of the awful conflict compensation will be found for some of its staggering cost.

Territorial bigness has not been in the past and is not likely to become in the future a trustworthy measure of civilizing capacity. So far as it is a factor in this process, its chief value hitherto has consisted not in origination of civilizing ideas but in the wider opportunity as compared with peoples whose area is limited for their diffusion. The United States, for example, while she has already made a large contribution to the world's stock of these ideas, has as yet served mankind quite as effectually through the assimilation of alien races.

In considering the relation of the state to this process, it will be convenient to name three types: the national, organized to satisfy the public needs of a single unified people, as the United States, Italy, and France; the empire, fulfilling the same needs of two or more peoples, as Great Britain, Germany, and Austria-Hungary; and the world state, founded upon subjugation of all others by one

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state, attempts to establish which have had a great influence on human welfare. An ideal not yet realized is a world-wide union of civilized states, toward whose realization, however, there are some encouraging signs of progress.

As an example of the national state, how is the United States related to civilization?

As already said, the gains of man have originated in the thought of individuals and developed through the various groups to the largest and most efficient,—the state. In this way the gain—one of the greatest conceivable—which came about in the American Revolution changed discordant colonies loosely associated with each other through common relations to Great Britain into a political union, national to a considerable degree in form and structure and still more strongly national in tendency. Individual citizens conceived the idea of independence and union, and the approving colonial commonwealths under direction of able leaders gave the support through which the transformation was effected, whereby the United States came into being as a new national state capable of large and distinctive services to the cause of civilization.

The union thus formed has survived fiery tests, notably in the War of 1812, when New England

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made threats of division. When, later, through the rank growth of sectionalizing tendencies implanted before the separation from Great Britain, disruption seemed imminent, it was the belief of Lincoln and other citizens, afterwards accepted by the larger division of the country, that the Union could not endure "a house divided against itself," but must become "all one thing or the other, all slave or all free." When the crisis came in 1861 to 1865 the Union was saved and its future assured as "all free." Through bravely and successfully meeting these tests, the nation developed a civilizing force otherwise impossible.

In creating a national type of civilization it is of great importance that leaders appear who embody in an ideal way the higher traits of the people whom they represent. Such leaders as Washington, Lincoln, and Robert E. Lee have done this for the American people. They have possessed those qualities best calculated to make strong and durable the characteristics which inheritance, environment, and their own creative force were developing in their nation. They have thus become interpreters to the people of the best in themselves and have exercised a powerful influence not only on the quality of this type of civilization but on its definiteness, the

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rapidity of its formation, and the extent of its usefulness to other peoples, for these understand Americans just as we understand ourselves — through our great men.

As an example of an empire, Great Britain's relation to civilization has been, on the whole, that of teachableness. It is true that the British resisted the Romans heroically, but owing partly to their defective political organization and partly to inexpertness in the science and art of war, the conquest begun by Cæsar was extended until nearly all of what is now England came under Roman sway. The good gift of Rome to the British was an introduction to her civilization — itself a product of elements gathered from Etruscan, Greek, and other foreign but not wholly alien sources, and so fused in the Roman crucible as to create a type of civilization which has exerted and still exerts a wonderful disciplinary and unifying power over the individuals and peoples that have come under its principles. Even the Christian religion, when organized, took on a Roman impress, which contributed much to its extension and to the unity in great world enterprises of the peoples who became its converts, as well as to their respect for authority and obedience to law. When the Romanized missionaries brought

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Christianity to the British, they brought a religion which was not only to reshape their characters in a new and better way but was to do this in accordance with the spirit of Roman discipline. The Christian missionaries built on foundations laid by Roman prefects and legionaries. It has been claimed that the inability of the British to drive out the heathen peoples, who later overran and appropriated much of Britain, was due to the demoralization they had suffered under the Roman occupation. There may be truth in this, but it is also probably true that the Romanizing of the Angles and Saxons through the Christian Church, both in its fully developed form (as represented by the monks who landed in Kent) and in its imperfectly developed form (as represented by the Irish missionaries), contributed powerfully to the conversion of the Scandinavian invaders who helped form the new nation.

The Norman Conquest brought to England closer connection with Rome as well as France, and while the Norman conquerors became the source of a permanent strengthening of the English political organization, the final result of the long struggle was that after vain efforts to Normanize England they became in heart and soul

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loyal Englishmen. They did a mighty work for her, particularly through opening old and new channels — ecclesiastical and cultural — of communication with continental Europe in the great period of the Crusades. Nor did their shaping influence end with the more active phases of this period. Norman ambition is responsible for the mingled good and evil of the partial conquests of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and for the Hundred Years' War, in which the evil far outweighed the good, and final defeat proved one of the greatest blessings. All through this time the English were making England their own and achieving a much more complete conquest of the French-Normans than William I, his warriors, their sons and grandsons, had been able to make of the English. During the Plantagenet period the important work of assimilation was completed. The Tudor rulers, with the exception of Mary, in whom Spanish heredity was controlling, were English to the core. Then England crushed, not without cruelty and injustice, faction at home and consciously entered on her great international career. The English people had also triumphed over Spain, most powerful and aggressive of their enemies. But could they win from the reactionary Stuarts the right to self-government?

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This was a vital question of the seventeenth century and an explanation of its severest struggles. Likewise, could they maintain the position in Europe and the world won under the Tudors and now threatened by Louis XIV? These questions received answers that satisfied the self-respect of the English and, in large measure, their ambitions, and also stimulated in them the passion, already strong, for colonial enterprise.

In each of the cases cited the real thing accomplished for civilization was that forces capable of bestowing much good on mankind, but neutralized and rendered useless for that end by working against each other, were brought into coöperation for the common welfare by creating a state or safeguarding one endangered. Their unity made this possible and natural, but unfortunately it is not invariably true. A nation, when established, has before it two divergent roads,—one leading to enrichment, the other to impoverishment and possible destruction of civilization. It may choose either, and the fact that it does sometimes make a wrong choice shows that the mere establishment of statehood proves nothing as to results. These will depend on whether the new nation accepts the altruistic or the egoistic policy.

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The state, indeed, repeats the experience of the individual, as does every other human organization. In order to become able to do its proper work for humanity—to advance whose welfare is the reason for its existence—it needs health and strength, physical, moral, mental, and spiritual training of all its faculties, and development of all its powers proportional to its usefulness in the discharge of its appointed tasks. Like the individual, however, it needs to be on guard throughout the stages of preparation against either minimizing or suppressing one or more of its constituent elements or magnifying or unduly fostering others. It should be heedful throughout this period of the teachings of history, as each man needs to be in regard to those of his own experience and of biography. While remaining true to itself and its normal impulses and inspirations, it must not think of itself as alone in the world or as the creator of a new world to be fashioned in the likeness of its own image.

On the contrary, it needs to be teachable, reverent, and mindful of the truth that it will accomplish most for the end to which it is dedicated by full recognition, in the case of each individual and each group of citizens under its control, of the right to be free and to share in shaping public policy,

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without which it becomes their irresponsible master and they its helpless slaves. In the latter case the state tends to become like a colony of bees or ants, perfect in those kinds of efficiency which are directed to common ends. This perfection, however, is acquired by suppressing the individuality of its members, through which alone the process of civilization can be maintained, and by developing organization to a degree that relates each to the community as a whole, like that of every member of the human body to the body itself. Thus the nation which elects or, owing to pressure from external enemies, drifts into this policy may, indeed, evolve high economic efficiency, but at this terrible cost. Under such a régime the state-made citizens may attain to a belligerency in its behalf, and to an industry and sacrifice of self in its support, which equal the valor and instinctive self-sacrifice of the bee or ant for the colony, but the natural relations between citizen and state are reversed. The state is brought into being for the sake of the citizen, not the citizen for the state—just as “the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.” Hence the natural relation of the state to the citizen is that of agent to principal; it is the creature of the people, for they

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exist before it does. In the genesis of historic states certain individuals stand out as founders and lawgivers, but they do so in virtue of power to discover the will of the people—in a sense representing and acting for them, even when proceeding most high-handedly. It is, of course, true that every successful revolution, since nations have attained political self-consciousness, has been won because of the consent of the governed.

As the United States and Great Britain are types of states that by their efforts are greatly helping the cause of civilization and its processes, Germany, on the contrary, seems to be greatly hindering, as shown by her treatment, both before and during the war, of the Social Democrats and their attempt to express their convictions, concerning the sincerity of which there is no question. This suppression of the fundamental right of patriotic citizens to utter their thoughts freely and fully on what are to them the most important interests of their country is a deep evil, for public opinion cannot be justly formed without unrestricted exercise of this precious privilege—that of advising their countrymen in times when they most need honest counsel. To those who have deserved well of their country it is a shameful affront to be treated as enemies when the real

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ground of their alleged offense is that the act on which they are arraigned is one of high patriotism. They wished for earlier peace that the frightful havoc of the war, moral as well as material, might be stopped, and the recuperative forces of the state might again come into exercise. Almost alone they ventured to counsel such terms as might give to peace the power to heal and thereby to last. For this they were restrained from speech, their candid utterances in the *Vorwärts* were suppressed, and the courageous leader of their radical wing, in order that he might be punished as well as silenced, was drafted into the army.

Such conduct confirms the despotic disposition in the German government. This baneful tendency needs, for the sake of public welfare, to be uprooted; it wrongs the entire people, since denial of this right affects all. The imperial control of domestic and foreign policy was, in the opinion of most of the world, the main cause of the war, the source of its most atrocious features, and the surest guarantee that any peace of which the terms are to the liking of the German ruling class would not be a friendly, coöperative, and, therefore, a genuine, durable, and civilizing peace, but an armed peace, devoted to burdensome preparation for war and

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maintenance and increase of those international distrusts and hatreds which engender war and add to its inevitableness, waste, and frightfulness.

This militaristic, aggressive, and autocratic type of state by its very nature is a menace to civilization and the civilizing process because its natural policy is destructive of them and their products through the conflicts to which it leads, the methods it employs in waging them, and the terms which, if successful, it imposes at the end of each war. These products destroyed so ruthlessly and to so appalling a degree are the spirit of amity between states, the disposition to be true to obligations formal and implied, and the wish to engage mutually in undertakings which create new bonds of friendship and good will and help to establish the best guarantee of continuing peace and advancing civilization. This would be the acceptance of the obligation to be just and helpful, which is the very foundation of international relations and the ideal relation of citizen to citizen within the several states.

Germany asserts she is civilized and commissioned to take part in civilizing other peoples, hence she wishes to impose her civilization (*Kultur*) on all the world. The aim on the part of a belligerent, however, to substitute by force its own type in place of the

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product and most treasured possession of other peoples is injurious to civilization. The law of expansion for a higher form is its voluntary acceptance by the people whose type is inferior, made possible only by friendly relations with those whose type is superior. Moreover, it is also true that this superior form must not be accepted as a whole, but only so naturally and gradually that the result will be displacement of the less-advanced type and more rapid development along natural lines.

Certain distinguishing characteristics of German *Kultur* favorable to civilization are efficiency through organization, for it has developed highly intelligent and willing coöperation within and throughout the state, which goes far to explain the marvelous achievements of the German people in recent times. It has made great advances in science, the useful arts, and militarism, having produced a military system of unexampled power and fervent universal patriotism, while having the foresight to maintain and even increase the physical vitality of the people.

The fundamental defect of *Kultur*, however, as a type of civilization is its colossal egoism, which leads to suppression of the individual will, subjugation of the will of the people to that of the ruler,

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belief in his derivation of authority from God rather than from them, and his consequent irresponsibility to them, and in the inability of the people to change or amend the government under which they live and by which their lives are regulated even in minutest matters, with the result that such political powers as they exercise are suspensible and revocable gifts of the ruler, and that the chief persons in authority under him are appointed and removable by him only. German *Kultur* in a large degree and in very important fields of thought (particularly the political) deprives the individual of the strongest incentive to do his own thinking by making this ineffectual. However he may think, the conclusions he reaches do not count, while the civilized man to a great extent thinks for himself and is an intellectual unit. The result is that a large proportion of the German people acquire the habit of abandoning to the government those fields wherein their own efforts are fruitless and in which it absolutely controls results. These fields are, however, important, and attempts to determine the best solutions of problems bring into exercise the highest qualities of the mind and develop the best in civic character. When such endeavors cease, the civilizing process suffers paralysis in one of its chief functions.

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Kultur can therefore be described as a national system of civilization only in so far as it serves to develop those qualities which are not characteristic of any special national type, but of the universal. All that it brings out in a man, making and leaving him a foe—at least an unfriend—of every other people, cannot be properly described as civilizing, for it places inferior above higher interests and sacrifices the cosmopolitan in man to the national patriot, making him blind to the fact that whatever works for the seeming advantage of one people at the cost of injury to another is decivilizing. The true opposites to German *Kultur* are national purposes, education, policy (domestic and foreign), and national institutions within the state such as will tend to make the citizen, while loyal and patriotic toward Germany, also loyal and patriotic toward humanity, one who will never approve a policy or single act which aims at helping his country by denying, ignoring, or violating those rights of other peoples which, were he in their place, he would feel obligated to maintain. German *Kultur* is Occidental civilization shorn of its higher elements,—justice, freedom, humanity, democracy, and Christianity.

The ideas on which autocracies in Germany and Austria-Hungary have rested are suited only to

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peoples whose advance has not reached the point where they are capable of self-government. The best to be said of them is that in the past they have at times rendered certain valuable services not only to their own people but to mankind. Closely examined it will be found that these have been in the main coercive integrations of discordant social, religious, political, national, and even racial elements usually at a large moral as well as material cost, but sometimes with useful results. The trouble with them is that, like other human institutions, they outlive their usefulness and, in order to prolong their existence, instinctively seek to prevent the people from attaining to that stage of development where they will claim and exercise the right of self-government. The position of the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg autocracies has been that of the guardian who, unwilling to give up his trust, seeks to convince his ward at the age of lawful self-control that his need of guardianship and tutelage is permanent.

It is human to love power, and the average man having once enjoyed its possession is loath to lose it. Hence, in a hereditary autocracy the ruler does not part willingly with any portion of his inheritance; on the contrary, his natural impulse is to

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depend on those social, religious, political, and military elements in the state which are disposed to its support. In domestic struggles which jeopardize the safety or interests of these elements, the autocrat naturally takes the part of those on whom he leans, and they seek to keep things as they are; hence there is almost of necessity a high degree of governmental conservatism. This does not mean that all autocrats are foes of progress, for some have been among the most enlightened rulers. The benevolent despots to a man have, however, remained despotic; in bringing about desired reforms they depend on their prerogatives of divine right as means by which to establish them. Indeed, the very theory of an autocracy forbids doing otherwise. Hence Peter the Great and Joseph II, who undertook radical reforms, perpetrated acts which illustrate despotism in its extreme form. The mandate of the autocrat is his for life; at his decease it passes to his heirs or to him whom he designates as heir; thus he is influenced by family ties to its upholding. An autocracy never develops naturally into a constitutional monarchy or a republic.

Several Hohenzollerns, it must be conceded, have enlarged the estate of their ward, the Prussian people, increasing many fold its area, value, and

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consideration in which it is held. At least three or four representatives of this royal family have shown devotion and efficiency, perhaps unequaled in the record of dynasties, in promoting this welfare as they conceived it.

In a democratic type of state the citizen enjoys more freedom and fuller recognition of his right to share in educating public opinion in both war and peace and of the idea that government is the servant of the people and subject to its will and that public policy, if legitimate, must be its own. This state is also more strongly disposed to accept the Golden Rule as the basis of genuinely friendly and disinterested foreign relations. To this type several nations are coming gradually to closer approximation, exemplified by Great Britain, France, and the United States, also certain smaller countries.

Among hindrances to adopting civilized and civilizing policies by the state is an appetite for increase of material possessions, because power and prestige are just as naturally augmented in the national state during its growth and expansion as in the individual. In each case these appetites have up to a certain point their use and justification in the life of the man and the state. The danger is that they will shape that career long after they have ceased to be

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useful and have become distinctly injurious. This peril for the man is often removed or much lessened by the circumstance that he is the citizen of a state in which special hindrances to excess in the indulgence of these appetites are provided both by law and public opinion. He who does not keep his thirst for wealth, power, or distinction within the bounds prescribed by law and custom incurs heavy penalties, one of the heaviest being extra-legal, namely, withdrawal of the respect and good will of his fellow citizens. In nations where public opinion is enlightened and controlling, the danger named can never reach proportions which seriously threaten the general welfare. In questions between states it is different; their egoistic impulses are not suppressed or even restrained to any such degree as in the case of the individual.

The state is, however, not the final stage of man's development, and if he treats it as such, evil will follow to himself, the state, and mankind: to himself, because he suffers arrest of development, so that when he arrives at the gates of the Eternal City (the City of God) he does not enter in, but remains without to die in the tents of the wayfarer; to the state, since what he does means perversion of its true function, which is preparatory in its nature; to mankind, because it has need of the services he refuses to give,

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and it happens too often that in serving the state he becomes the enemy of mankind.

Attempts to establish the third political form, an organized world-state, have hitherto been made by extending the sway of a single powerful state over the rest of the world through military conquest, for in no other way can it be founded, since nations will never voluntarily surrender their sovereignty. The personal ambitions of men of genius both military and political, as in the case of Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon, have had much to do with these enterprises. Possibly, nay probably, they would never have been undertaken had it not been for the ambition of these men. In each case reliance was placed on military superiority for subjugating the peoples to be brought under the sway of one master. The purpose of each conqueror, however, was to reorganize the conquered peoples and force upon them what was, at least in his view, a higher type of civilization. Not one of these attempts succeeded: Alexander died too young to accomplish the task (perhaps he had not all the qualities essential to success, if, indeed, there was a possibility of success with conditions then existing); Cæsar was assassinated; and Napoleon succumbed to an uprising of the nations which he had wronged or threatened to wrong.

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What benefits can be expected from establishing a consolidated world-state by military conquest? The first that is promised is universal peace, but this would not be durable, for every people would seize the earliest opportunity to regain its freedom, and there would be, therefore, necessity of suppressing insurrection after insurrection, so that at best only an armed peace would ensue. Another promised gain would be participation of all peoples in one type of civilization—that of the conqueror, which certainly for some of the subjugated nations would be a type higher than their own. This benefit, however, would be far more than balanced by suppression in part (in many cases the larger part) of types they had themselves developed. Another advantage predicted would be the possibility of great economies. If such a state once established could be maintained without other coercive means than police, the largest items in public expenditure under the present system of many nations would be removed. But there is nothing in human nature or experience to warrant this hope.

In the greatest states (the nearest approach to the world-state) which have existed in the past, and in the one we have at present (the British Empire)—it is to be noted that colonization, on the whole a peaceful expansion of the colonizing country, may

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lead to founding a new nation in case the motherland pursues an illiberal policy toward her colonies. Or, in some respects and under far better conditions, it may lead to their development into essentially sovereign self-governing communities, which form a lasting federative union with the parent. Absolute independence is the better result when the colony or group capable of forming a single political unit and creating a distinctly new type of civilization finds that its interests of self-development, and freedom to pursue that course in its relations to the world at large, cannot be satisfied in imperial federation. This was the case of the British colonies which declared their independence and became the United States. This view does not leave out of sight too much the claims and true interest of the motherland, that her children pursue that political course which shall enable them to achieve the most and best in the world. Just as reasonable parents would not consent to be a drag on their children, so reasonable states would refuse to retain their colonies in subjection after they were capable of becoming independent. It is a greater glory to be a mother of nations than the founder of an empire.

The case of England, like that of the United States, illustrates national expansion by these two methods.

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Each has tried both with such definite results as to make evident that colonization rightfully pursued is beneficial, and conquest harmful save as it opens the way to colonization. In this way Great Britain has vastly benefited her own children by locating a large portion of them where they could do more for themselves, the motherland, and the world, both materially and morally, than was possible at home. Despite the disposition, now happily disappearing, to look down on the colonial, Great Britain has, on the whole, made development and retention (or, rather, increase) of colonial good will matters of deep concern, and this has reacted powerfully on the colonies for their good and hers. This she realizes in her present hour of trial, when she finds that her political children are actively supporting her, even those which have no direct political connection—like the United States—being helpfully sympathetic and aiding her to bring about pacific international relations and thereby the safety and quickening of the civilizing process in every land.

It is, perhaps, less obvious that expansion of the United States has been through colonization, but it is true. In no modern nation has it been carried out on so vast a scale, so wisely, or with such desirable results. For colonizing, the United States had first of

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all, as part of her dowry, ownership of widely extended territories almost vacant of inhabitants, wholly undeveloped, and very rich in natural resources. Moreover, they are adjacent to and have a natural unity with the areas first settled. In taking possession, in conquest of nature, and in building homes and communities, the colonists did not cut themselves off from their base of supplies, ancestral relations, or ties of kinship with the early settlements. What happened to those who transplanted the institutions, manners, and character of the Old World (particularly of the old British world, making large portions of the American colonies a new England, a new Scotland, and a new Ireland) happened, but in an easier and happier way, to the sons and daughters of the immigrants who had established themselves along the Atlantic slope when they went farther west and made new homes and states in the great valleys of the interior and on the slopes of the Rockies and the Pacific. There resulted to the settler deliverance from old burdens and fetters, a fresher, more stimulating relation to nature, the opportunity to become owner as well as tiller of the soil,—if he cared to be such,—a large influx of stimulating aspirations, a kindling of ambitions, and the awakening of powers long dormant. There was, it is true, a struggle with

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the aborigines, — a source of positive evil to both. But this was short and, while not bloodless, did not much affect the immigrants. One particularly desirable effect of the migration was that through a process of natural selection the shaping of the new communities came into the hands of the more democratically inclined class of citizens. The influence of West on East has thus been to democratize further the tendencies established in the older settlements by the first migration.

The principal objection to the world-state in the interest of civilization is that it would suppress those portions of the civilizing process that create special national types and thus prevent individual peoples from making those particular contributions which justify the existence of each one. There would result to the world what would happen to a school if all the pupils were compelled to accept as a pattern one ideal scholar chosen for them, into whose likeness they would be required to fashion themselves instead of encouraged to follow the ideal most in conformity with the nature of each one. Acceptance of one type as the world-ideal would result in ending human freedom, aspirations, and progress, for the incentive to produce a better type would cease to act on individuals and communities,

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and that stagnation would ensue under which one generation repeats the record of its predecessor. Humanity would continue to exist but cease to live, for to live is to grow.

International law has to-day far less influence over the conduct of the national state than municipal law over that of the private citizen, and what we may term international public opinion is as yet—very unfortunately for the world—a weak thing in comparison with national public opinion. The private citizen who has just cause for complaint against an aggressive neighbor can appeal, as a rule, to the law, with confidence that his wrongs will be righted and that in his fight for justice he will be sustained by the sympathy and moral support of his fellow citizens. It is not so when a state is wronged or threatened with wrong by a more powerful neighbor. Some degree of sympathy it may receive from fellow states, and international public opinion may be decisively in its favor, but there is as yet no international court where the sufferer may confidently seek redress. His only hope lies in winning the support of another strong nation or group, and frequently this has to be purchased at a high price. More often, however, it cannot be secured at any price, and the nation endangered must either submit

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or else fight with the probability of suffering more wrong because of its manful resistance.

There is, besides, a well-established conviction shared by nearly if not quite all the great powers of the world that to intervene in behalf of a people thus threatened is not obligatory, on the ground that it is not the duty of every state to maintain the rights of every other state. It will be remembered that Sir Edward Grey, while disapproving the ultimatum of Austria-Hungary to Serbia and the rejection of the Serbian reply, did not propose that England intervene unless the war between these countries should widen into a European war. This rule of nonintervention by a state, unless the actual or intended aggression affects its own interests adversely, is defensible in two respects: first, any one state is practically unable to prevent by its own unaided efforts others from perpetrating wrongs, as such an undertaking would involve it in many profitless wars which otherwise could be avoided; second, there are few if any great powers in the world whose record would allow them to enter upon such a task with a clear conscience.

What then is the remedy? How can such wrongful aggression be discouraged and, if persisted in, brought to naught? The obvious reply is that what

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one country cannot undertake in behalf of international justice can be successfully achieved by a world-wide association of states or an association too powerful to be overcome by a single state or by any league which may refuse to enter the larger and stronger league.¹

¹ A fuller treatment of the League of Nations will be found in Chapter X, Part II, entitled "After the War a New World."

CHAPTER V

THE RELATION OF WAR AND PEACE TO CIVILIZATION

WAR as a day of judgment, unlike the Day of Judgment of Revelation, passes not directly on the moral or spiritual merits of the belligerents or their fitness as civilizers but on their fighting capacity. In war between peoples, as in conflict between individuals, the fighting ability may easily be on the side that is morally wrong. Superior cunning, physical strength, and equipment may be with the robber or murderer rather than with his innocent victim.

War has played a powerful part in human experience; it has been the means by which backward but advancing peoples have made a place for themselves in the world, wherein they could develop, could evolve their own particular type of civilization and thereby give to other peoples what they would find useful and acceptable, and also receive from others and incorporate with their own whatever was useful to them in different types. Also it

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has been the means by which nations whose work was done have been made to give place to others whose work was still to be done. It has at times been a great renovator; thus, in the wars of the French Revolution, victories were the means of extending to other peoples useful ideas that had originated in France. The wars of Napoleon, until after the middle of his meteoric career, may be likened to a conflagration which burns up human rookeries, masses of venerated but noxious rubbish, and much else which has not only ceased to be useful but has become obstructive to progress. When Napoleon was sent to St. Helena he had the right to look back upon much of his work as a deliverance of the world from many antiquated customs and methods that were paralyzing its energies. War, too, has often been the means of bringing to an end national dissensions of grave import. In the nineteenth century it was by war that the United States freed itself from slavery and that Italy freed herself from foreign oppression; thus they attained unity and strength for their largest national tasks.

War has other weighty achievements to its credit. When the beginnings of Greek civilization were threatened with destruction by the Persians; when Roman civilization and the state were menaced by

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the Carthaginians under Hannibal; when all of Christendom seemed doomed to overthrow by the followers of Mohammed, — in each case deliverance came through desperate war and could have come, so far as we now see, in no other way. Likewise, when England undertook to deprive the thirteen colonies of the rights of self-government which they had long exercised, and when Prussia was under the heel of Napoleon, deliverance came through war and could not have come otherwise.

War justifiably begun, prosecuted, and ended helps the civilizing process in many ways, brings out and makes operative on the character of the people the high qualities of leaders, and raises the individual from excessive concern in personal affairs and those of the minor social groups to an interest in large public questions. Thus it ennobles him, for it has an almost magic power to kindle national self-consciousness and free the citizen from personal egoism by making him a national egoist on a colossal scale and enabling him to brave danger and risk all, even his life, in the service of his country.

On the other hand, war unjustifiably begun or prosecuted interrupts this process, even turning it back for a long period and always destroying its earlier results. Should the aggressor, however, be so

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decisively defeated as to be convinced that a future assault on civilization would be unprofitable, then the gain to this process may be great. It is this reasonable hope and belief that has buoyed up from the beginning the foes of Germany in the World War.

Only those wars are justified which result in making men better and add sensibly to the world's moral treasure, thereby insuring in the relation of man to man and nation to nation more justice, friendliness, magnanimity, and willing coöperation. Of such wars ours with Mexico in 1846-1848 was not an example, while that between the North and the South a few years later was an example, despite the unwisdom and wrongs of the congressional reconstructive policy.

Can aggressive war ever be justified? One can recall a great many such wars that cannot be justified. There are some, however, that seem, when judged by their results, to have done more good than evil; such was the Norman Conquest of England. True it brought deep suffering upon the English, but it gave them discipline and forced them into unity, of both of which there was urgent need. It made their government stronger and more efficient, and this result probably goes far to explain why England, with all her enemies and her frequent wars on the Continent, has not suffered invasion since the

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eleventh century. These considerations, it is true, do not cover the whole ground, but they make it difficult to prove that the good which comes from such a war can never outweigh the evil. The conclusion that the benefits sometimes exceed the evils of this warfare does not of itself justify the aggressors. History gives many painful chapters to the record of unjustifiable but successful wars of aggression. At the present day international public opinion outside the attacking state strongly disapproves such wars when conducted against a civilized nation. It does not, it must be confessed, often take the trouble to inform itself and pass judgment in cases where a civilized state makes war upon peoples who are backward and unorganized.

In the case of war the motives and methods of the belligerents must be considered. If these are consistent with the ends of civilization, and there is no practicable better way of progressing toward them, then war is its servant; but in view of what it costs, better ways of securing these ends should always be sought for earnestly and patiently until it is clear that the quest is vain. Aggressive wars waged from egoistic motives destroy civilization when entered upon to increase the power, riches, and prestige of one state or group by interfering

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with others in execution of civilized and civilizing policies or reducing their power toward this end by subjugating or ruining them.

The most enlightened peoples agree that the evils of war, terrible as they are, do not justify a state in refusing to fight if there is no other honorable way of maintaining its existence or the rights of its people. Peace at the price of what the best citizens hold to be worth more than life itself—the honor of the citizen and the honor, safety, and life of the state—costs more than it is worth. No manly man would hesitate to battle with a ruffian who attacked a child, and how can a manly citizen hesitate to battle with a people who undertakes without just cause to destroy his country or deprive her of her rights? Thus wars waged in defense of a people's rights, by civilized methods and in support of important interests of mankind, are rightly considered not only justifiable but glorious; they advance human progress.

It is therefore probably true that a defensive war such as Belgium has fought at an appalling cost will enable her to contribute to the cause of civilization more than would be possible in a century of prosperous peace. Out of her deep love for national honor, one of the most precious treasures of

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civilization and one of the strongest forces on which the civilizing process depends, Belgium chose to incur war with an invincible enemy rather than purchase peace at the price of accepting an infamous proposition from that enemy. In facing the certainty of wrongs, of atrocious outrages, of sufferings beyond measure, in risking even her national existence rather than be untrue to her pledged word, rather than sacrifice her honor, she has disclosed qualities of character and given an example of exalted heroism which will work for good mightily throughout the ages to come. Desolated, brutally maltreated, Belgium has won a victory over moral evil of incalculable service to mankind. The same is true of the Allies in general. They have been carrying on the war in self-defense and for the higher ends of civilization,—justice, humanity, and freedom. Through their will to suffer every danger and make the most heartrending sacrifices for such a purpose the war has become to them an occasion for finding their better selves, both as individual peoples and as a group on whom collectively and in close association with the neutral nations who sympathize with them rest very largely the hopes of the world.

Purely defensive wars are as a rule righteous; those essentially aggressive, motivated by greed,

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ambition, or lust for power — those, in short, whose aims are identical with enterprises which are unlawful when undertaken by one or more citizens against another citizen or a group — are as a rule unrighteous. In case, however, of an unrighteous war, has the army of a power that wages it the same rights as that of a nation waging a righteous war? No; unrighteous wars are not valid wars; armies engaged in them are armed associations bent on murder, arson, and pillage. It is not reasonable that in order to give them immunity from danger while doing their wicked work, the innocent victims, deprived by them of the protection of the state, should also be deprived of the right to protect themselves.

War affects all world conditions, and the question how it has been and is now related to art and thereby to the perfecting process has been raised; by most the answer has been that in the past it has affected art unfavorably and must continue to do so henceforth. In certain respects this answer seems reasonable, but in others it is not. It is true that fighting in itself is destructive of human life and so brings to an untimely end a large number of potential artists. It also destroys the art treasures which an invaded country possesses, and often leaves the belligerents so exhausted as to terminate artistic achievement for the time being.

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Some results of warfare, however, exalt a warring people, and this exaltation tends to express itself in appropriate art forms. Art reveals the best things that are common possessions of most human beings and thus helps to unite men. A poem, and much more a poet, is a source of civilization in virtue of this revelation of the spiritual similitude of men of different lands. This is the effect of the Homeric poems, the poetry of the Bible, and every work of art which differing peoples understand and enjoy in common. It is the effect of all true art, but of degraded art the precise opposite is true,—it separates rather than unites men.

In considering the relation of war to religion we perceive that the foundation of religious life and character is to recognize as the source of all righteous authority the ruler of the universe, and conform progressively the will of the individual, social group, and state to His perfect will so as to become able in full sincerity to say, "Not my will but Thine be done." Is it by His command, as the kaiser claimed, that one group of human beings whom He has created shall subjugate, enslave, or kill members of another group? It has been assumed through many long ages that it was commanded by the being whom the aggressors accept as their God. Under the sway of

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polytheistic religions the wars of human groups were those of the deities of one tribe or people against deities of other tribes or peoples. This imparted to war a particularly atrocious and destructive character.

Such were the wars waged by the ancient Canaanites, by the Mexicans, and by countless other tribes for a vastly extended period. Nor was war's character at first much changed when polytheism was transformed into monotheism. The sole God of the universe was clothed with the martial attributes of those who loved and made war. In fighting they continued, as warriors of God, to subjugate, enslave, and destroy his enemies. With the advent of Christ there came into the world a body of teaching and an example which tended both to humanize all armed conflicts and substitute for them methods of settling controversies whose appeal was to reason and the claims of humanity. These tendencies, however, were resisted successfully through many centuries. Wars of nominally Christian nations against each other and of followers of Mohammed against the votaries of other religions usually have been in a marked degree unchristian in spirit and deed, as well as so-called religious wars between one division and another of the professed followers of Christ over questions of orthodoxy or creed.

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Over against the benefits conferred on mankind by war there are untold evils. It has impoverished individuals, peoples, and mankind and cruelly slain hundreds of millions of the flower of the race. It has bred hate and demoralized entire peoples, making them easy victims of antisocial passions, and converted into smoke-blackened ruins and devastated fields vast regions that once provided pleasant homes and sustenance for dense populations. Finally, it has caused, directly and indirectly, an aggregate of destruction and suffering that probably exceeds what man from his first tribal groupings has endured from all other sources combined. Those who experience war at its worst do not survive to tell the agonies which make the fittest to live glad to die; and what is suffered by soldiers on the battlefields has its counterpart in the lifelong sorrow of the bereaved. We cannot wonder that the humane, dwelling on the horrors of the World War, come to think of war as the worst of evils and the one thing which the world must bring to an end, cost what it may.

The source, however, of the larger part of the injury that it does to civilization and the civilizing process will be found in what hate, engendered by war, does to the hater and to the one hated. In all wars two simultaneous conflicts are carried on: one

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of armies, where the fighters are soldiers, and the other—much the larger—of civilians. In the former the casualties are recorded; in the latter, although ignored, they are as real and in some cases not less serious than wounds received in battle. Nor does it help that the injuries of the civilian are usually self-inflicted; they are not on that account less hurtful, for a hate-scarred soul may be an even worse misfortune than a maimed body. Everyone knows how this passion reacts upon its possessor—darkening his mind, blighting his social nature, and leading him swiftly on to the blackest crimes. The reaction on a hating people is no less evil, for hate has no redeeming quality.

The aggressive party need not hate the intended victim; any motive will suffice to start the war fever,—for instance, cupidity, as when the Germans attacked Belgium. They merely desired the military advantage that would accrue from the passage of their armies through her territory. Upon Belgium's refusal they attacked her murderously, and hate came only when her valiant resistance began to injure the prospect of German military success. The wounding of their military and political arrogance increased this passion which led them on, still under the false plea of military necessity, to

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acts of savagery and wickedness toward the blameless Belgians, whose only offense was that they defended their rights as best they could against German aggression and thus helped save France from destruction.

Through hate's opposite — love — have come into existence the highest products of civilization. These are, without doubt, the deeds and characters which embody the furthest advance yet made in the perfecting of man and point the way to further advances in the future. In those deeds and characters which kindle and nourish the aspirations of humanity there is great love and no hate. Even those acts of war to which civilization has owed so much have had their impulse in love of country rather than in hate of enemies.

Abraham Lincoln did not and could not hate. In the history of the United States nothing is more encouraging to the friends of civilization than the plan of reconstruction he devised and which testified to his love for all his countrymen, for those who had tried to destroy as well as those who were saving the Union, — a love so simple, strong, and magnanimous as wholly to engage his heart and mind in the one concern of the hour, namely, how best to heal the wounds of war and build up by common effort

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a new and durable union on the strengthened foundations of the old. Through the greatness of the love which left in his nature no room for hate, even more than through his eminently practical wisdom, Lincoln became one of the most commanding of all leaders of peoples that have contributed to civilization.

This process begins with love and at every stage of its ongoing depends on it for its efficiency ; hence war, which in the relation of nations substitutes hate for love, is its foe and the paralyzer of the civilizing process. The conviction is becoming widespread among the humane that war is no longer necessary, that every good that it can bring may be secured by means that inflict no pain and kill not nor destroy. It is also pointed out that in world-progress disputes between individuals and groups within the state that earlier were settled by war now attain a juster settlement by judicial and political means and at a material and moral cost infinitely less. The time now seems to have come when these methods may and should be substituted in settling disputes between nations.

But who is to judge as to the righteous or unrighteous cause? In the end the enlightened moral sense of mankind will judge truly, but we

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cannot wait for this judgment. This is so true that the world needs a tribunal where aggrieved nations can plead their causes before going to war. Such a course wisely adopted would prevent all great and general wars and most others.

To those who look upon war as a school of patriotism, valor, and self-sacrifice, the advocates of its abolition declare that these virtues no more depend on it than they depend in family life on war between families. Good parents always show these qualities in home relations, nor have they suffered decline where the blood feud has ceased to exist. The brightest examples of loyalty to a good cause, of valor and self-sacrifice in its behalf, we find in the records of martyrs and missionaries. Many of the Greathearts of the world have shown the highest qualities of citizen and soldier without any experience of camp or battlefield. The real source is love, and this can flourish without war. Christ's Sermon on the Mount and the Christmas Pastoral of Cardinal Mercier are more convincing as peace documents than are the writings of Clausewitz, Treitschke, and Bernhardi as documents glorifying war.

Why does the world expend its energies on destructive war and burdensome preparations and waste its most precious moral and spiritual as well

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as material possessions? Because it has been mistakenly assumed that the individual state is the highest as well as the ultimate form of political organization; in other words, because the devotion of each people to its own interests, real or supposed, has made it blind to those of others; in taking thought for itself, it has forgotten humanity. Cure this national egoism, or rather replace it by general recognition of the claims of mankind as higher than those of the individual state, and wars will cease.

The new order would convert what is now probably the most demoralizing of all influences upon the character of the citizen into an efficient agency for building it up; this is the baleful working of immoral conduct by the state upon the morals of the citizen, particularly of the young citizen. False patriotism leads him to condone the evil which his country does or, what is worse, accept what would be thought wrong in private life as blameless because it is done in connection with public life. This new order does not mean the end of the national state or its abasement, but its redemption; for, instead of doing away with it, the national state for the first time in history would be enabled truly to find itself and its rightful place and function in the world-system. This change would not

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displace patriotism, the essence of which is the sense of duty toward family, friends, and the various groups within the state to which each citizen is related.

Is war more inimical to civilization than armed peace? In reply it is necessary to note the extent of the injury done by each. Armed peace, particularly under present conditions, which call for the largest armies, the vastest and most expensive navies, and the greatest outlay for munitions within the limits of national resources (and by use of credits far beyond those resources), opens the way for graft and corruption and imposes upon the state a crushing economic burden. Also it encourages desperate rivalry in the race for the strongest armaments, each nation expecting to be recompensed by indemnities to be extorted from the defeated. Its worst results, however, are not economic but rather moral; for example, systematic, carefully planned, so-called peaceful penetration of other states — often in aim and spirit a kind of war, although within the law and without violence, and espionage, in which the motive of the spies and their government is to be prepared for possible or probable future wars of aggression. This is an international corrosive; it degrades the spy and the government he serves.

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Misapprehension, suspicion, dislikes, and hatred are the sentiments such armed peace breeds, destroying spiritual products like good will and friendly coöperation between peoples, worth more to mankind in direct and indirect influence than the material products of civilization. Indeed, international enmities thus created are fully as destructive of these higher products as are international wars; they decivilize and dehumanize, darken the present, and cloud the future of mankind.

Armed peace demoralizes further by keeping the attention of each people that purposes or fears war fixed on militarism as the condition either of successful aggression or successful defense. One partly compensating tendency must not be overlooked,—the difficulties in the way of either policy dispose each state that hopes or fears war to strengthen itself by alliances or ententes as well as by armaments. So far as such agreements clear up earlier misunderstandings or quarrels and open the road to discovery of durable interests and increase of mutual friendship, they are early stages in preparation for the world-wide association of states on a like moral basis.

Genuine peace promotes civilization and the civilizing process; that is, if it is characterized by mutual

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confidence, respect, considerateness, and fraternal helpfulness between peoples of the earth, as it is in the most highly civilized nations. In this peace the butcheries, maiming, drowning of noncombatants,—inflicting thereby crushing sorrow on those who loved the slain,—and all the other barbarous modes of warfare perfected in this struggle by the Quadruple Entente will come to seem not deeds of civilized and sane peoples but either of those bereft of civilization by insanity, and who have reverted to the lowest moral condition of savagery, or else of demons.

Civilization will have for the first time a fair opportunity to bring to light the best and greatest of which man is capable. When this genuine peace is established, the civilizing process, which because of untowardness has so often been but feebly active, so often interrupted, and, alas, so often had its methods and instruments perverted to hostile uses by its foes, will work under stronger motives in fields immeasurably more extended, with efficiency multiplied many times, and with results such as "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man."

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PART II. THE WORLD WAR

CHAPTER VI

THE WORLD SITUATION IN 1914

AS REGARDS the continents, Asia, vast and teeming with humanity, seat of the oldest civilization and birthplace of every one of the great religions, was awakening, in 1914, to a sense of world unity and to the hope and purpose of taking a share in world progress worthy of her ancient past. This was most evident in the farthest East—in Japan, China, and India. Of these Japan, since the birth of this century, has amazed the Occident by victoriously asserting her right to be enrolled among the great world powers. Until recently a docile pupil and disciple of Europe and America, she has suddenly shown herself in wide fields of statecraft—particularly in diplomacy and war—capable of giving to her recent teachers lessons they are now slowly and reluctantly taking to heart. One of these is that as Greece once championed the cause of Europe against Asia, and as the United States championed in the Monroe Doctrine the cause of democratic

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America against the aggressive policies of anti-democratic Europe, so Japan has assumed the championship of Asia as against occidental military aggression and exploitation.

In the American continent the most noteworthy features of universal interest in 1914 were the efforts of the United States to democratize and regulate economic conditions in the interest of a more just and equal distribution of economic products and to cultivate peace and good will toward her neighbors and the rest of the world, shown notably in her arbitration treaties, in her Mexican policy, and in the increase of considerateness toward the countries of South America and the corresponding growth of confidence in and friendliness to the United States on their part.

Indeed, with the sole but noteworthy exception of Mexico, it may well be questioned whether at any earlier period the forces which in the Americas make for domestic and international peace and amity have ever shown themselves so absolutely strong and prevailing as in the year that marked the hundredth anniversary of the Peace of Ghent.

In Europe an armed truce among the great powers had prevailed ever since the close of the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. The brilliancy of

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German military success and the notable political achievement in the completion of German unity, combined with the discredit Louis Napoleon had brought upon France, have led to a general ignoring of the moral aspect of Bismarck's course during this war and subsequently.

His purpose, namely, expansion of the North German Union into a greater Germany by inclusion of the South German states,—Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria,—was reasonable. When once accomplished, it would bring to a final end the struggle for leadership between the Austrian Empire and the kingdom of Prussia and thus remove a fruitful source of discord and consequent weakness in the Teutonic circle. We cannot reasonably object to Bismarck's purpose, but we can object to the method—namely, war with France—by which he undertook to hasten and assure German unity. The method was wrong and unnecessary; it would have been better to bring it about by pacific means rather than by kindling passions of war, and without question this could have been done, with patience. The North German Union had only to avail itself of the growing demand for national unity, which, if strengthened by a consistently friendly attitude toward the South German states, would soon have proved decisive.

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Also it was costly for the North German Union, even with the stipulated military coöperation of the South German states, and involved the element of loss of life which no indemnity or extorted cession of territory could repay.

The swift successes of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and the Franco-Prussian War, and the vast increase of power to Prussia and the new German Empire, gave a great impetus to the popular doctrines that might makes right and that the state is power. The seeds of Germany's aggressive war of 1914 were sown almost fifty years earlier; as shown by her military writers, she hoped also that the rapidity of these former wars would be duplicated by the World War.

In 1871 the German Empire — Prussia newly expanded — extorted as conditions of peace from France a huge indemnity and a large cession of very valuable territory. Germany hoped these exactions would so weaken France, through loss of highly defensible frontier and through impoverishment, that for a very long period she would be unable to undertake another war with Germany or, in case of such a war, would be crushed far more thoroughly than in 1871.

The results of these cruel extortions sorely disappointed German expectations; France was not

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crippled to the calculated degree by payment of the indemnity, and her sense of wrong over loss of territory led to a policy of revenge which was nourished for many years. The German response to this policy was threats and increase of preparedness for war. These reacted on France so as to make her for a long period more resentful, provided her with additional motives for enlargement of her armies, and stimulated her to seek for allies. Meanwhile, with the dismissal of Bismarck and the assumption by William II of full control, German foreign policy broke abruptly with the Bismarckian tradition. In proclaiming that "the future of Germany is on the sea," in cultivating friendly relations with the "Red Sultan," and in the dramatic proffer of his support and championship of the cause of Islam, the kaiser gave both Russia and Great Britain cause for alarm.

In the case of Russia, distrust of Germany had already been awakened by her course in 1878 at the Congress of Berlin and was increased by her forcing on Russia an unequal trade agreement and by her support of Austria when the latter annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. During the diplomatic struggles following the Franco-Prussian War and the development of the new German colonial and international policies of William II, the Triple Alliance

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of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy was formed on the one hand; and, on the other, the alliance of France and Russia grew into the Triple Entente by inclusion of England. The result of these struggles for advantage of position was the sinister armed feature of the European peace which was maintained until midyear of 1914. During this period there were from time to time *rapprochements* between these two groups, whose ulterior purposes were irreconcilable. The outstanding fact of the situation was that Germany, while on the whole unwise and unsuccessful in diplomacy, was rapidly and thoroughly preparing herself for "the next war."

In midsummer most of the great powers wished for peace. England showed her confidence in its maintenance by the strongest of all tokens, namely, refusal to increase her land forces, which many advised, and which alone would enable her to take an early efficient part in war. Germany—by far the strongest military state in the world—was at the time the only power that desired the overthrow of England. Despite significant warnings, however, England did not believe that "the Day" was close to its dawn when she would be compelled to struggle for her life against Germany, toward whom she cherished no aggressive designs. Nevertheless she was

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apprehensive on solid grounds of German aggression.

Belgium certainly had not a wish to encroach on the rights of Germany. Her supreme interest was peace with all the world, and her one great and too well-founded fear was attack by Germany.

Russia, though conscious that her unfriendly neighbors were taking strong measures to prevent her from securing free egress to the Mediterranean, was not yet ready to try conclusions with them. Her course during the diplomatic struggle which began with the ultimatum to Serbia and ended with Germany's ultimatum to Russia makes it evident that she was bent on preservation of peace.

In France the sense of injury over the loss of Alsace and Lorraine was not dulled; she had not forgotten what Germany inflicted upon her high-handedly in 1871, nor can she ever forget, so long as she cherishes a proper sense of national rights and duties. But the estimate of the cost of undoing this harm grew as she compared population returns in the German census with her own. Besides, patriotic Frenchmen were asking, "Is the best way to serve France to insist that she shall right this wrong by force of arms?" While never withdrawing her protest, may not the energies now directed to recovery of the lost provinces yield better results to herself

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and the world if turned to ends surely attainable and which do not involve cherishing the sense of wrong? Whatever may be the difference of view as to the strength of this sentiment in the year 1914, it is certain that it was growing and that France did not then wish to go to war for her own ends.

Thus Germany had not one enemy in sight; hence it is impossible to accept her claim that war was declared in self-defense. It was brought on in a spirit of the clearest and most pronounced aggression. Nor was there a question of defending any of the rights or legitimate interests of Germany, for these were in no danger, and no country in the world was so flourishing in enjoyment of these acknowledged rights and in development of these interests. The war was begun in defense of her unhalloved purpose to deprive by violence other peoples of their birthrights. It is through this "defensive" warfare that Germany has converted the fairest portions of Europe into a wilderness and drenched their fields with blood.

What is the reason for her persistent asserting of the plea of self-defense? Because she had cherished ambitions and formulated projects that were aggressive toward Russia, Great Britain, France, and Belgium. From time to time she denied these plans,

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and again gave unmistakable evidence of their existence and character. They were so hostile and seemed so imprudent that her neighbors refused to believe her in earnest. But in deadly earnest she was, — her purpose being, after violating the neutrality of Belgium, to crush France quickly; then use the wealth and resources of France in destroying Russia; and, with these enemies out of the way, — Italy meanwhile cowed into maintaining friendly neutrality or even active coöperation, Serbia subjected by Austria-Hungary, and the rest of the Balkans held down by fear, — then to turn all her might to destruction of England.

Germany believed she could exact indemnities which would more than meet the cost of the war and appropriate such portions of France and her colonial possessions as would make French *revanche* thereafter negligible, and thus by a war more dazzlingly successful than that of 1866 against Austria or that of 1870–1871 against France she would place herself — within a hundred years after Waterloo — securely in the position that Napoleon had set out to procure for himself. In her plans the completion of the Kiel Canal, enabling her to shift her naval forces from the North Sea to the Baltic almost at will, played a vital part. There are

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indications that she also awaited the perfecting of the Zeppelins — to be used, as she hoped, for terrorizing and destroying London and Paris — and for the finishing of the huge guns which so suddenly smashed the Belgian chain of forts.

Responsibility for the outbreak of the war rests on Austria-Hungary and Germany — primarily on Germany. Austria-Hungary must, however, bear a considerable share of the guilt, not only because of her ultimatum to Serbia and her working hand in hand with the German government throughout the Austro-Serbian crisis but because of Austro-Hungarian treatment of her subject races prior to 1914. She has acted on the theory in respect to the relation of government to people of giving grossly disproportionate representation to the different races. She has set one race against another; for instance, by favoring the Poles (which was doubtless also partly due to her desire to cause unrest among the neighboring Russian Poles) and by cruelly oppressing the Slavs. She has forced the migration of her South Slav subjects from the good lands of Bosnia and Herzegovina and replaced them by Teutons. From her oppressive policy and deeds have arisen a spirit of bitter dissatisfaction, acts of violence, and spread of the Greater Serbia vision in Bosnia.

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Many national ideas, among them the German, Magyar, Italian, and Czech, have been placed in the hands of the House of Hapsburg, but have fared ill under its guardianship. This fully explains why all patriotic citizens of Serbia are willing to lay down their lives, as many thousands have done, rather than suffer their national idea to pass into keeping of the Hapsburgs and thus destroy all chances of Serbia finding herself. For only in the state can the nation adequately realize itself, only in the nation can the state come to its own.

There was never one moment during the crisis of late July and early August when it was not in the power of Germany to prevent this outbreak, not only without injury to her legitimate interests but with a gain in moral prestige of which she is now in sore need. She stood at the parting of the ways at the fateful hour when her military chiefs decided for war. Not only did she refuse to exercise this power, but in her ultimatum to Russia on July 31, just when Austria-Hungary, by consenting to discuss the Serbian question with Russia, had receded from the position that made a general war inevitable, Prussianized Germany assumed the fearful responsibility of deciding that a war should take place which was to prove the most desolating and inhumane of

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all great wars in the history of mankind. Never was so deadly a blow aimed at civilization.

England, Russia, and France, seconded by Italy, foreseeing the terrible peril, made earnest efforts to settle the controversy between Austria-Hungary and Serbia by peaceful means,—by arbitration. Despite their failure, such efforts were a service to civilization. Had they succeeded, the result would have been a continuance of the blessings of peace and a surer guarantee that in future disputes threatening extensive wars the states most interested in controversy would get together with those most interested in maintenance of peace, and thus by friendly coöperation secure to the world establishment of a new and stronger method of insuring a just result which would accord with the good of civilization and quicken and make more efficient the civilizing process. The end sought and the means proposed by the Allies were in strictest harmony with the principles on which civilization rests and by which it has been developed. By these means not only have many questions involving the probability of war (such as the Alabama dispute) been settled peacefully, but the working together of the different interested powers has wrought strongly to the end of civilizing the international spirit.

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Germany willed this war because she believed the summer of 1914 to be the most propitious moment for her dreams of conquest. Her diplomatic preparations assured her full support of Austria-Hungary and in all likelihood of Turkey, and Delbrück claimed a fair prospect that Italy would declare and maintain a neutrality which would be highly useful. The one clear case of diplomatic failure was the inability to secure the neutrality of England. Germany believed that Great Britain,—although quaking with a sense of guilt because of unfair advantage gained over Germany through her earlier start in the race for colonial empire, and knowing well that in the matter of defense she must act quickly or never,—would be held in leash through internal dissensions and disloyalty of her overseas possessions, while Russia could not mobilize and take the offensive before being crushed by Germany and her allies. Over against the imagined disability of France, Russia, and England through domestic troubles, and the real disability of each through lack of preparedness for war, was to be set the perfect unity of Germany in obedience to, and passionate support of, the government in its far-reaching policies.

The earlier steps in the general war plan of Germany and Austria-Hungary lay in Austria-Hungary's ultimatum to Serbia on July 23, 1914,

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and her rejection of Serbia's conciliatory reply, which accepted all conditions except those that would actually deprive her of her independence. As Dr. Hans Delbrück states: "Austria demanded, therefore, conditions which would have placed Servia under her permanent control."¹

The purpose of this ultimatum (certainly one of the most notable in world history) was that Serbia should commit political suicide. In brief, one of the oldest and strongest states said to one of the youngest and least powerful: "Either kill yourself within the next forty-eight hours or else we shall kill you; in either case we shall appropriate all that you possess." What that meant we can best realize by supposing that during the presidency of George Washington, when we were young and weak, some older and stronger state, whose spirit and institutions were hostile to and irreconcilable with our own, should have thus spoken to us. Can we doubt what answer our forefathers would have given? Washington, Jefferson, and Hamilton, with heartiest approval of the people, would have replied as the American people wished Serbia to do: "We shall not assassinate our country at your command, and if you attempt this wicked thing we shall fight."

¹ In "Germany's Answer" in the *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1915.

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The ultimatum signified to the Serbians precisely what appropriation and destruction of Poland by Prussia, Austria, and Russia meant to the Poles; what Prussia's forcible taking of northern Schleswig meant to the Danes, who were brought under a burdensome foreign rule; and what German seizure and subsequent oppression of Alsace and Lorraine signified to the citizens of these fair provinces of France.

The right of a state is to exist, and any attempt to deprive it (as did Austria-Hungary in the case of Serbia) of life, territory, or, indeed, any right commonly recognized as inherent in political sovereignty is a lawless act. The truth as to such attempts at spoliation is that the robber states, by violence and cruelty, take from the subjugated the rights which of all those in their possession they value most highly, and believe essential to their peace of mind, happiness, and welfare. No true, loyal American can doubt that to be forcibly deprived of his rights as a citizen and made without his consent a subject of the state which had robbed him of his country would be the worst wrong he could suffer. This would be true of every loyal Englishman or Frenchman and, indeed, of every loyal citizen of any country. Of deep concern also from the standpoint of international interest was the purpose of Austria-Hungary

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(relying on the pledged support of Germany) to set aside in Serbia the principles of both race and nationality as a basis for state organization. In respect to this government they would not only make it independent in its origin of the consent of the people to be governed but destroy a democracy, in some respects one of the most interesting in existence, and substitute the anti-democratic, autocratic, aristocratic, bureaucratic, and military governments and policies which characterize, in a high, though varying degree, Austria-Hungary.

This purpose and the acts designed to carry it out were an expression of principles on which Metternich and the Prussian kings Frederick William III and Frederick William IV based their reactionary political and social policies between 1815 and 1848. There was in both countries in 1914 the same implicit denial of the cardinal doctrines of democracy, insistence on those of the supremacy of the autocrat and aristocrat in molding public policy and ignoring the right of a state to govern itself and shape its own foreign policy, characteristic of Metternich and his supporters. But there was a new and disquieting difference; the spirit of nationalism in the case of Austria-Hungary and Germany had suppressed during the past half century all that was democratic and made these people —

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with impotent exceptions, such as the Poles in Prussia and the Slavs in Austria—the unquestioning supporters through thick and thin of the policies of the autocratic rulers and the aristocratic and militaristic classes.

Was the policy of Austria-Hungary, helped by Germany, solely a question between these two powers and Serbia? In the interest of civilization Russia said No. Against the safety and welfare of civilization Austria-Hungary and Germany said Yes. Germany contradicted herself after proclaiming it a matter to be settled between Austria-Hungary and Serbia alone, and showed her double face by making the issue one involving the possibility of war. Unless the controversy did concern Germany vitally, why should she be willing to embark in a great war in order to enable Austria-Hungary to win, that is, to perpetrate a national crime? Why did not Germany range herself with the powers that were struggling to maintain the cause of justice and peace? We cannot know the full answer to these questions until the archives of Berlin and Vienna are opened to examination and it becomes possible to learn all that passed between the two governments, including, particularly, the instructions of the German ambassador, von Tschirschky, at Vienna, and his reports to the

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German Foreign Office. But we do know enough of Germany's ambitions, plans, and achievements in Asia Minor to be clear that she had a large common interest with Austria-Hungary in suppressing Serbia and obtaining such an egress to the Ægean as would enable her and her ally to control railway communication with that sea. What we have learned of German relations, first with Abdul Hamid and later — after smoothing away difficulties caused by the Young Turk movement — with the present rulers of Turkey, makes it sure that control of the Balkan States by Germany and Austria-Hungary and exclusion of Russian influence there was felt to be of vital importance to them both.

The refusal of Serbia to surrender her national existence, and the struggles of her courageous people to maintain their rights and save the life of their country against terrible odds, are of incalculable service to the cause of civilization and have done much to further its advance. Greece in her noblest battles can show nothing more heroic than the bravery of this inspiring and dauntless Balkan nation.

This ultimatum of Austria-Hungary was almost universally condemned by the people of the United States, as well as by the neutrals and the democratic

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nations of Europe. The latter, indeed, were influenced by other considerations growing out of circumstances peculiar to the situation of each, but in so far as European peoples believed in the political principles of the American and French Revolutions, they had to condemn these acts of Austria-Hungary as denials of those principles and subversive of them.

Intimately related to the process of civilization was the interposition of Russia in behalf of Serbia, which if successful would not only result in preserving Serbian sovereignty and independence and, therefore, her opportunity to continue in a career already promisingly begun of a civilizing state but would rebuke and discourage in the future such attempts as that of Austria-Hungary in seeking her destruction. Hence civilization and the civilizing process would be strengthened and accelerated.

On the other hand, Germany's interposition on the side of Austria-Hungary was distinctly destructive of this process. Germany backed her in committing an international crime whose success would be most unfavorable to civilization not only through its effects on Serbia but on its perpetrators and on the world. If Russia should look on and allow this assassination of Serbia, what could she consistently

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say or do if the more powerful Germany should later, with the support of Austria-Hungary, undertake to do the same to Belgium, to Holland, to one or all the Scandinavian states, to Switzerland, and, finally, to Russia's ally, France? These are questions of international morale, and their answers have a vital relationship to civilization.

As regards Italy, she saw that Teuton control of the Balkan States would place her wholly at the mercy of the Central Powers and compel her to strangle irredentism as the price of peace, surrender all her hopes of expansion along the eastern Adriatic, and decisively supplement the German policy of "peaceful penetration" which had been carried on with such astonishing success within her borders. Thus she could be forced either into active participation in the coming struggle for the "freedom of the seas" and its concomitant — looting the overseas colonies and dependencies of both England and France — or she could, in case of a premature beginning of the conflict with England, be constrained to pose as a benevolent neutral whose ports would be useful to Germany in time of war with a sea power mightier than her own.

An interesting coincidence is that just as Austria-Hungary began by attacking the weaker

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kingdom of Serbia, Germany — battling for "the preservation of the culture and freedom of all nations" — began her fighting upon the little kingdom of Belgium; in each case a strong military power assailing unjustly one of the weakest in all Europe, — a striking instance of might pitted against right.

Belgium was a land fair and smiling until the Germans came — a land dowered with priceless treasures of Christian and civic art; with unique records in noble architecture and precious manuscripts of high achievements of a brave, patient, self-respecting people; the home of a nation busy in works of peace, prosperous and happy in their labors, whose toil wisely directed added daily to their own well-being and that of the world, and a religious people whose faith in Christ was fervent and strong. Into this European paradise came on the second of August the Germans, saying in effect by their ultimatum: "If you let us pass through your land to attack France, we will agree to give back to you, when our need is satisfied, full control of your land. We know that you and we have solemnly sworn not to do the very thing we now propose; we shall violate our oath, but if you have scruples you can make a feint of resisting. If, however, you

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decide to fulfill your oath, then take the consequences: we shall treat you as an enemy; our invincible army is at your border and will cross it to-morrow. We shall take possession of your land before your friends can come to your aid. Decide within twelve hours what you will do."

This infamous demand surpasses all other recorded proposals made by one people to another in its affront to the sense of patriotism and international obligation. The reply of the Belgian minister told fitly the thought and purpose of a nation led by a hero king who chose to perish rather than consent to dishonor. In making this noble decision and in her heroic courage and fortitude Belgium has done more to vindicate civilization than her enemy has been able to do for its destruction. In all history there is no record of a people that has fought and suffered in a holier cause. What misfortune could happen to any people comparable to being subjected to Prussian methods of assimilation? Had the aggressors had their way; if Russia, England, and France had not helped the small states, how much more terrible even than the sufferings they have undergone would have been the results to these tortured countries! In their injustice the Germans seem to have forgotten Jehovah, and in

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their inhumanity to have renounced Christ. There are many ways of denying the compassionate Christ, but is there any way so effectual as the deeds of frightfulness that were done in Belgium?

When Germany violated Belgian neutrality at the cost of breaking her solemn promise, she forfeited the respect of civilized mankind, since in so doing she made undependable the basic foundations of international faith. The outbreak of the war was a triumph of the foes of civilization and the civilizing process,—of force over reason; it was an attack upon the national consciousness not only of Belgium and Serbia but on that of the great powers of Europe.

CHAPTER VII

AMERICA AND GERMANY

THE real nature of the war has been a conflict between antagonistic types of morality and of aims public and private, of organization, of ideals of citizens and groups within the state, and, in consonance with these differing ideals, of different and antagonistic methods.

Against the German theory that the state is the source of rights, the American theory holds that every human being is invested with them at birth, that they are inalienable and comprise all rights essential to his complete development and fullest possible service to God and man, and that the state's functions are to recognize them and assist the individual only to the necessary degree in the use of these rights which it does not bestow or originate but is obliged to protect. The state is agent of the citizens and intrusted by them with certain coercive powers in order to secure enjoyment of their rights and aid them in fulfilling their duties. The American people believe in the Declaration of Independence and its principles;

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this spirit of democracy is further evidenced by the bills of rights in the early constitutions of many states and by the definitions of the rights of the people as stated in the first amendments to the Constitution as well as by the democratic spirit and constitutions of the great West.

In international ideals the American belief is that the state is under the highest obligation to teach its own citizens and those of other countries, by professions and conduct, reverence for and obedience to the highest ethical principles, while German professions and conduct deny this. Americans believe that just as relations between different groups within the state have become peaceful as they have become ethical, so will relations between states develop. They also believe that the efficient as well as humane way for any nation is to impart to others whatever elements of its civilization promise to benefit them by generously sharing with others the aims and processes by which its own advance has been achieved.

In studying the origin and development of Prussianism under the Hohenzollerns, we find that in its essence it is a reliance on organization and force as methods of realizing ideals. There was in the natural endowment of the Prussians a stubbornness which could be subdued and made serviceable only by

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organization under forceful or even despotic direction. This has been supplied by their rulers: the Great Elector, Frederick William I (second Prussian king); Frederick the Great; William I, who had character of the Prussian kind and genius, in partnership with Bismarck; and, finally, William II, who seems to have added to the typical, strong Hohenzollern traits imagination, temerity, and a love of the grandiose and spectacular which are his own. These traits, though, perhaps, in some degree present in the first king of Prussia, were not associated, as they are in William II, with the forcefulness and other typical traits of the dynasty.

The home-loving, unambitious citizen of the earlier Germany has become under Prussian guidance and the demoralization of astounding success in war a new and radically transformed man, citizen, and soldier. While Prussianism owes much to the harsh discipline of nature, it is also in a high degree a historic product. Its formative period included the Thirty Years' War of the seventeenth century — the most desolating, with the single exception of the world conflict, of all modern wars; the wars of Frederick the Great, which began originally in desire for expansion and closed after desperate phases as a triumphant struggle for existence and retention of all its early

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gains; the many bitterly humiliating experiences which followed Napoleon's victories at Jena and Auerstadt in 1806; and the rebirth which prepared the way for Prussia's decisive part in the War of Liberation. With Waterloo, Prussia recovered her status first gained under Frederick the Great as one of the strong powers of Europe. More important and promising for her future was the fact that the chief agent in the accomplishment was not the Prussian king but the liberated and liberalized Prussian people under the impulse of a resistless tide of patriotism. King Frederick William III recognized the awakened people as the source of the great deliverance, and promised as a return a constitution which would make the people sharers in the government. This promise, however, was not kept.

In general, the Germans, as even some of their own writers concede, have had little aptitude for self-government, hence their reliance on government to rule them. The most practical way of accomplishing this is to accept the rule of an emperor divinely bestowed upon them and to supply him with an army, a bureaucracy, and whatever else he may find useful in governing them. This inaptitude in the Germans to see things from the standpoint of the general interest is also exemplified in their views of

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international policy and in their failure to comprehend the proper and practicable in world policies. It seems to be associated with or perhaps is another form of their inability to put themselves in place of others, which cuts them off from the best corrective of megalomania, makes them a failure in diplomacy and offensive critics wherever self-interest is affected, and has led them to say and do all the foolish and unwise things that German writers, particularly the professors, have said and done in the World War.

Villard, in "Germany at Bay," helps to make clear the vitally different relation of the German citizen to his government from that of the American citizen. The government of the former takes hold of him — in a sense, nurses him — in infancy, regulates his schooling down to the minutest detail, fills his mind in childhood and youth with ideas that seem to it desirable for him to live by, and when still at an impressionable age puts him into camp and makes him into a finished soldier. As a citizen it surrounds him on every side with impressive evidence of the presence and all-pervading activities of a paternalistic government, teaching him that public concerns, domestic and foreign, are in charge of a potent government which will not acknowledge the validity of a public opinion at variance with its

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own, frowns upon and punishes political dissent, and suppresses within its own host of officials every utterance of free thought as ruthlessly as it would sedition in the army. Finally, it rules a people numbering 70,000,000 of highly intelligent citizens according to the will of the supreme war-lord, who leans upon his army and on the privileged classes. Moreover, these disciplinary processes are continued and reach high effectiveness in relation to the army, where service is required until past the meridian of life — that period when a man (at least the average man) is so completely made as to have lost the will and power to remake himself. In other words, a radical difference between American and German is that the former to a considerable degree is self-made; the latter, to an extent, government-made. Likewise the German citizen is taught, drilled, regulated, and disciplined in body, mind, and spirit by the government to a degree scarcely paralleled save in the Order of Jesus — that religious order of matchless efficiency founded by Ignatius Loyola. Each German tends to become in relation to the state what Loyola designed the Jesuit to be in relation to his superior: as *lignum et cadaver*, — as wood and as a corpse, as matter devoid of will. There is something wonderfully impressive in the

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result. Americans who have studied in Germany and have come into close relations with friendly Germans are always struck by the contrast with what they find at home. Indeed, the real explanation of what is most wrong and unfortunate in the recent course of Germany is the failure, because of this long and successful process of miseducation, of her individuals and groups to assert themselves as separate judging entities.

Unlike America, Germany has had no really representative government. When we ask why, we find the sole reason is that under the existing régime party responsibility is impossible. If that should be conceded, parliamentary government would begin automatically and the quasi autocrat become a constitutional ruler. Were a representative system established, no chancellor or minister of state, even a Bismarck, would ever again advise the ruler to trample upon the constitution he had given to the people and conduct the government as if they had no political existence. What is now morbidness of German party life would disappear, and the sense of responsibility for the national welfare would compel such a reorganization of the party system as to make German policy a just expression of the mind and will of the people.

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At the beginning and throughout the agonies of our Civil War, Lincoln in his first and second inaugurals, in the Gettysburg Address, and in his plan for return of the Confederate States expressed ideas which were just, wise, merciful, and magnanimous. Indeed, they shut out from war all calculated frightfulness; from victory all trace of resentment and revenge and all thought of punitive measures; from defeat all sense of wrong and humiliation; and fostered everything that tended to bring together as brothers those who, after many years of quarrel, had fought each other in a long and desperate war. True, after Lincoln's untimely death, this program of healing and restoration was rejected for a time with disastrous results, but his character and example exert an ever-growing influence on American ideals and policy. It is largely because he was right and his principles as a statesman and ruler the best which men have known that we find it impossible to justify Austria and Germany in relation to the war. If the German propaganda was a failure in the United States, it was because Lincoln more than any other of our national leaders has taken possession of the American heart and mind.

Even in times of peace the modern German way of thinking and the American are totally unlike.

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This divergence of outlook is indicated in the contrasting attitude and conduct of each toward China during the Boxer outbreak. The views of John Hay as to its rightful treatment were in full accord with those prevailing among his countrymen, while the German attitude as expressed in the speeches of the kaiser, in the unspeakable conduct of the German expeditionary army, and, later, in the high-handed acquisition of Tsingtao seems to Americans on its ethical side simply incomprehensible. This striking unlikeness in moral standards comes to light everywhere. One finds it as evident when the theme is the rights of women and of the citizen in comparison with those of the government, as exemplified in the constitution and practice of the kingdom of Prussia, and quite as evident when it relates to international matters anterior to the present, such as the German policy toward the United States during our war with Spain.

This unbridgeable gulf between the fundamental conceptions of justice, humanity, and international obligations of these two countries helps to explain pro-German unqualified approval of Germany's conduct toward Belgium — conduct never forgiven or condoned by any genuine American — and also the heartbreaking difference between the response at pro-German gatherings to the news of the sinking

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of the *Lusitania* and that at gatherings of Americans. But it does not explain all; there is between pro-Germans in the United States and our other as yet imperfectly Americanized elements of European extraction a wide divergence. Most of the other elements are willing, nay eager, to become fully Americanized; with the pro-Germans to become Americanized would seem a degradation. Many German immigrants, as Americans gladly acknowledge, have contributed to upbuilding our country. But these represented that older Germany which, to the world's serious loss, was submerged and disappeared in an expanded Prussia. The political, intellectual, and social aims of the later comers, however, have been to break down the structure of American civilization which rests on deeply laid British and French foundations, to arrest the natural development of the United States along historical lines already determined and thus transform it into a New World replica of the modern Germania, and to build up here the temple of Prussianized *Kultur*.

They cannot succeed; they have begun too late. It is not an infant whose guidance and control they would place in German hands, nor a lusty youth whose passions and inexperience may make him plastic, but a man in early prime who already knows

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his own mind and is becoming conscious of his destiny and aware of his opportunity and duty; and he strongly wills that others shall not interfere with him in the use of this opportunity or discharge of this duty. The American people declared their independence of England and made that declaration good. Later, in the Monroe Doctrine, they proclaimed their independence of Europe and made that declaration good. Is it possible that as threatening influences now at work disclose their full purpose it may become necessary to make and make good a third Declaration of Independence? ¹

At the outbreak of war in 1914 the government of the United States, in full accord with the will of the people, decided upon the policy of neutrality. This decision rested upon conclusions closely resembling those which led Washington and his advisers to the historic declaration of neutrality in 1793. President Wilson's policy was generally approved abroad. Our people held at that time that they had no part in bringing on the war and were friendly to each of the peoples involved. The impoverishment of Europe, their largest foreign market, meant hardship and heavy loss to them. They also knew

¹ War on Germany was declared April 6, 1917, somewhat over a year after the author wrote this.

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they must share in the evil spiritual consequences of a widespread and bitter war, for the hatred, suspicion, and festering sense of unrequited wrong engendered will be handed on as a sinister heritage to succeeding generations, and as representatives of these cross the sea they will bring it to new homes within our borders. The persistent hatred toward England of the Irish who migrated to the United States because of the wrongs they suffered in Ireland has hurt them and has had at times an unfortunate influence upon American politics.

The sense of national wrong is acute and lasting in proportion to the patriotism of citizens whose countries suffer injury, and, equally with those of large states, the claims of the homeland are deeply felt by those of small states, where constant fear of aggression by strong neighbors helps to subordinate private and party interests to the larger interests of country. The reaction of citizens of wronged nationalities is sometimes, perhaps often, the cause of higher citizenship, but there is a clear distinction between the effects of oppression by one's own government and by a foreign government. In the former case, the transition of the exile or emigrant from the old loyalty to the new is comparatively easy; in the latter, the loyalty of the sufferer to the country of his birth is simply intensified.

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Certain tasks, in advancement of civilization, were allotted to neutral nations at the opening of the war. The United States during the first months of the struggle held as her duty and part to restrain as much as possible forces that demoralize and destroy, thus conserving what civilization has already produced, to reduce suffering as far as may be, and to do all within her power to relieve and care for the sick and wounded and restore them to health. This task has noble recognition in war; its field of service covers, unevenly, of course, not only vast areas immediately affected by war operations but large sections and populations that suffer from their indirect results.

Another task allotted to neutrals in common with belligerents, but wherein the former have distinct advantages, is to create just public opinion in regard to the causes of the particular war, its issues, methods, and terms of peace. In his early attitude President Wilson hindered the performance of this national duty, for if in his definition of neutrality he really meant, as everyone believed, that the American people should be neutral in thought between the belligerents, he erred. No neutral people has ever that right unless in its honest judgment each contestant has exactly the same degree of responsibility for beginning the war and each is conducting itself with

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equal humanity. This happens very rarely, if ever. The triumph of the aggressor who conducts war with least regard for those laws and rules that regulate it is a blow to civilization, and every one of its friends should wish for his defeat and discipline. To treat those guilty of savage cruelty in warfare and their innocent victims as equally culpable or equally blameless is abhorrent to the natural moral sense of mankind.

Among the evils necessarily resulting from thinking and feeling neutrally the following are very serious: The perpetrators of injustice and inhumanity would not feel that sense of shame which the moral condemnation of others naturally excites in the guilty, hence they are more likely to go on committing these crimes. Likewise the victims would rightly feel that refusal to condemn the wrongdoers and sympathize with the innocent sufferers was an additional form of injustice and cruelty. The neutrals in such cases would do violence to their own spiritual natures, and this would, in a long-continued war, paralyze their moral faculties and humane instincts. Had the Good Samaritan acted on this principle he might have remained a Samaritan, but he would soon have ceased to be good. Those who remained morally neutral in the presence of ruffianism that well-nigh destroyed

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Belgium ran the risk of killing their own souls; and those who in the face of evidence declared they did not know there had been atrocities, and asserted that they would not permit themselves to know until after the war was over, planned the suicide of their minds as well as their souls.

The time to resist the perpetrator of violence is when he is red-handed; the time to save his victim is when his first outcry is heard. No one denies this when the attack is upon an individual, any group of his fellow citizens, or upon his own state. In such a case a man who preached moral neutrality would be rightly condemned as a bad citizen. On what ground can he be right when the sufferer is a citizen of a foreign state? Shall we blame Americans who refused to practice this when Austria was putting Hungarian patriots to death, when the Turkish sultan was massacring Armenians, or, earlier still, when Napoleon was trying to maintain his hold upon Prussia as a vassal state? No; a people would destroy the higher elements of its own life if through the centuries it practiced moral neutrality, so called; it would cut itself off in its own time of need from the sympathy and spiritual support of other peoples and make itself impotent as a contributor to civilization.

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The full fruition of the policy of thinking and feeling neutrally consists, therefore, in fastening on the world through an indefinite future the old evil system of war-making which assures the would-be aggressor he has nothing to fear from neutral public opinion. If neutral peoples are not to find out in the case of any particular war who is the aggressor and who the praiseworthy defender of home, hearth, and kindred against unjustifiable attack, then there will never come into being a civilizing force powerful enough to dissuade from aggressive war, namely, condemnation of the perpetrator of atrocities by indignant, outspoken public opinion. With this growing, mighty world force Germany and every other national evildoer must reckon. It was watchfully observant when the German fleet bombarded Whitby or some other unfortified place, killing women and children, and when German submarines torpedoed vessels like the *Falaba*, sending a hundred civilians, including women and children, to the bottom of the sea. The final result of such practices must be the outlawry of Germany from the comity and fellowship of all civilized humanity. The world will turn against her and maintain its defensive attitude until she repents and proves her change of heart by "works meet for repentance."

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The citizens of neutral states can make no greater mistake than to think of the war as the affair merely of the peoples that are actively belligerent. Its widest interest is not whether certain nations shall have more or less power or even whether certain ones shall continue to exist, overshadowingly great as these are, but whether those principles on which the healthful progress of civilization depends shall survive and be strengthened. This largest of all interests involved is properly the concern of the whole world.

The fully sanctioned universal practice by which neutrals supply belligerents with arms is in substance only a form of international coöperation (whose terms cannot be lawfully changed in war time), the chief advantages of which accrue to strong states of a nonmilitaristic disposition and to the smaller ones that cannot meet the cost of constantly maintaining military preparedness even for defensive war. This practice is moral, just as it would be for any neutral state to sell arms to the United States should war come between her and Germany because of German persistence in killing American citizens. Nine tenths of the American people, including those of German descent, believe that manufacture and sale of arms to be used in maintenance of national

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rights against lawless and immoral aggression is quite as moral as the manufacture and sale of Bibles, because not only are arms necessary to save the life of the belligerent but also the great concerns of civilization. The prevention as well as the cure of militarism is not submission to the aggressor but resistance of the kind he understands. Hence not only was it moral for the United States to make and sell arms while a neutral in this war but to refuse would have been highly immoral. Such a refusal would, if made a general policy, place the entire world at the mercy of that state which had in time of peace made greatest preparations for war.

The doctrine of the rights of neutrals upon the high seas is unconquerably established in international law. It belongs to that class of neutral privileges and immunities secured in the centuries-old struggle to limit suffering and damages accruing to nonbelligerents from the operations of war. When fighting was looked upon as a large part of the business of every nation, the doctrine of belligerent rights was in the ascendant, and the ill-defined rights of neutrals were violated with practical impunity. With the growth of vast trade interests, due to the enormous expansion of ocean commerce, neutral nations (which means all, for no great nation

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is always at war) vigorously and successfully insisted upon recognition of their right to nonmolestation of their trade and national rights save within strictly defined limits established by law and usage. The theater of this contest was in the main the high seas, where belligerents had been most arrogant and where they stood chiefly in need of restraint. As a result we have now a large body of established doctrines sanctioned by general assent and by more formal conclusions of many international conferences. Among them is the doctrine that neutral subjects or citizens may freely take passage on belligerent merchantmen and that the enemy may not destroy or imperil the lives of such passengers; but if he elect to destroy the ship, he is guilty of a crime against law unless he makes previous visit and search and provides for the safety of the passengers.

Here the interests and rights of the citizens of the United States have come most prominently into conflict with the policy pursued by the German government. The United States has refused to admit Germany's plea, — that the use of submarines is something new, uncontrolled by existing law, and therefore allowable until passed upon by the nations after the war. Germans and pro-Germans who put forward that plea know well that not only

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had international law never authorized this German use of the submarine (although it was invented long before the war) but that it never would. Arrogant presumption on the part of one member of the world-embracing association of states cannot be carried further than Germany has done in the pretense that she has the right, without consulting her fellow members, to set aside rules of the association and to substitute those of her own making which give her enormous military advantage over her adversaries, while denying long-established rights of neutrals and inflicting upon them the grossest wrongs. Had the United States acknowledged this contention, we would have accepted as rightful lawmaker of the world its most egoistic and ruthless lawbreaker and thus have smoothed his path to domination, first, of Europe and then of the world. This rôle toward Germany so ignoble and suicidal in itself, so recreant to her ideals, so forgetful of the past, so unmindful of the future, and so treacherous toward her fellow nations and the highest hopes of mankind, the United States could not accept either willingly or under compulsion. It were better that we, like Belgium, prefer to perish in resisting what we condemn in the aims and methods of Germany than consent to become, first, her accomplice and then her tool.

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Acceptance of the German proposal to stop submarine attacks upon belligerent merchant vessels with American passengers on condition that our government would certify such ships carried no contraband was impossible. To abandon the rights of our citizens by a truckling agreement would have been an appalling failure in honor and duty. It would have been a backward step toward semi-barbarous times, reintroducing the principle of that earlier policy under which piratical Barbary powers demanded tribute which Christians paid in order to secure the safety of their ships from capture and their citizens from enslavement. It was Jefferson, Americans are glad to remember, who, when president of the United States, made effectual protest against this policy and brought it to an end. We have refused to purchase from Germany that safety for our citizens upon the seas which was already guaranteed by law. It was a case where there was no room for compromise. To yield to Germany would be to condone unlawful and inhumane practices and start a movement to make them legal. Failure on the part of a state to protect her citizens by force of arms, if necessary, when engaged in lawful pursuits, is to overthrow the ordered system under which nations live in amity and work

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together for the common good, and to establish in its place a world chaos wherein each state would become the victim of unrestrained national egotism. Only as we look at this proposal to sell the principle of abiding by the rules of civilized war for the price of American exemption from the ill effects of German lawlessness; only as we look at it in relation to international law, as yet the highest, most sacred, and formal expression of the ideals and will of organized humanity, — can we realize its enormity.

The sinking of the *Lusitania*, lawless and inhuman as it was, disclosed nothing new of German purpose or methods, for all was frankly told when von Bethmann-Hollweg declared in so many words in the Reichstag early in that first August that if Germany finds in the way of her success in war solemn promises on which depends the faith of nation in nation, if she finds in her way universally acknowledged rights of peaceful neutral nations who have done her no harm, she will break those promises and violate those rights. These fateful words of the Imperial Chancellor the German people made their own by immediate, unanimous, unqualified approval. This program said nothing of the methods they were to employ in the conduct of the war, but their deeds in Belgium and northern

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France soon made it clear they were such as civilization had banned as brutally inhumane. Von Bethmann-Hollweg was also silent as to another phase of German war policy, namely, the feelings of passionate and vindictive hatred that Germans were to cultivate toward those who opposed them.

The murder by Germany of Americans on the *Lusitania* brought upon us a crisis of far more importance than that produced by the destruction of the *Maine*. Then, as now, an act of murderous violence aroused to mighty passion American sympathy with innocent suffering and patriotic wrath over a wrong and insult to the United States. The German government tried to disavow not the act itself, but the responsibility. The sinking of the *Lusitania*, however, was the deed of the German government as clearly as if William II had fired the fatal torpedo and with his own hands had put to death more than a hundred Americans and others of neutral citizenship—men, women, and children—not one of whom had ever done any wrong to Germany.¹

Germany's claim that she is guiltless of wrongdoing in the *Lusitania* massacre convinced the

¹ On August 24, 1918, in a decision handed down in the Federal District Court of New York by Judge Julius Mayer, the destruction of the *Lusitania* was legally and officially declared to have been an "act of piracy."

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Americans that her success would be a menace to ourselves and civilization.

In their efforts to swing American sympathy to their side, or at least so to neutralize it that it would profit the Allies little, the Germans subjected us to an unprecedented, penetrating, insidious, and, at first, almost unsuspected propaganda. Time has shown the serious nature of the tactical mistakes they made in conducting it; for example, the threat to modify the genuinely neutral policy of our government to work to the advantage of Germany and arouse the fear that, in case of war with her, many American citizens of Teuton descent would prove disloyal. Another costly mistake was the mission of Dr. Dernburg, who was sent to the United States to win for Germany and Austria-Hungary the support of American public opinion. Why did he fail? Not because of lack of zeal on his part, want of sympathy from the pro-German element in our midst, or failure to secure a hearing, but because public opinion disapproved the acts of the two Central Powers as irreconcilable with the basic principles of American political character and policy. Dr. Dernburg illustrated this well when in a war conference at Amherst College he was asked, "Is the rejection of the Serbian reply to the Austrian ultimatum

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justifiable?" and his instant reply was an unqualified "Yes." To the next question, "Do you yourself justify the rejection?" the reply was again a laconic "Yes" with, perhaps, a slight increase of emphasis. To Dr. Dernburg the justice of the ultimatum and the rejection of the reply was fully self-evident, while to nearly all his listeners what seemed self-evident was the injustice of both. This and many subsequent illuminating experiences proved that in regard to things of highest concern Americans and Germans do not think alike.

Another cause of the Dernburg failure has been the policy of defamation pursued by the Germans and their advocates toward their enemies. For example, Hans Delbrück, in "Germany's Answer," proceeds against Serbia without a word of appreciation of her great achievements or a suggestion that in any way she may have been wronged by Austria; with no consideration of the fact that five centuries of Turkish oppression are not a good preparation for immediate display of all the civic virtues in their highest form or that the policy of Germany has been directed to riveting Turkish fetters on Christian peoples whom the Turks have injured.

In regard to England, Dr. Delbrück does not hesitate to malign her, and says, like Cleon, "Just so

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has England suppressed all regard for the common welfare of European civilization and pursued only her own immediate ends." Had Germany been put in the place of England it would have seemed just.

Americans also resented the efforts of Germany to lay the blame for the war on Russia so long as there was hope of persuading England to remain neutral. When they had compelled England by their purposes toward France and Belgium to intervene, they vented their rage toward her by calumnies and sophistries which in the United States reacted powerfully against themselves. Finally, after they had as oath breakers flagitiously reduced the Belgians to a condition of famine, they, the guilty, left their victims either to perish or owe their deliverance to peoples who are humane.

Aside from the sense of kinship with England which, though sometimes latent, is never extinct, and is now flaming forth, America is in sympathy with the Allies because we rejected the Prussian doctrine of the benefits of war and were convinced from a study of the available documents that while Serbia, Russia, France, and England sought earnestly and patiently to prevent war, Germany and Austria-Hungary persistently balked these efforts. Particularly significant is the fact that during the critical days the German

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White Book and the Austro-Hungarian Red Book contained no communications between Berlin and Vienna. This sympathy has been strengthened by the conduct of Austria-Hungary in Serbia, by the way Germany has dealt with the occupied portions of France and Belgium, by the doctrines and policies advanced by Treitschke, Bernhardi, and the German militarists which are antagonistic to our ideals (as are their crusade of hate and misrepresentation), by German policy toward non-Teuton people within her borders, by Austro-Hungarian treatment of the South Slavs, by the attitude of the German militarist toward the civilian, and by the German idea of the state and the relation between government and people. Also Americans disapproved her colonial policy, and the nature of her *Kultur*, and abhorred the purpose to impose it on other peoples by force and to deal with France and England by despoiling them of their colonies and making them vassals of Germany. They were likewise antagonized by her aggressive plans toward Holland, Switzerland, and other small states, by her attitude and purpose toward Russia, and because Germans believe in and revere Frederick the Great, Bismarck, and William II while Americans believe in and revere Washington, Lincoln, and Robert E. Lee.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MENACE OF GERMANY¹

TO UNDERSTAND the supreme importance of the death struggle in which the two antagonistic types of civilization are locked, we must have clearly before us the answer to the question, The victory of which of the two types would advantage the world more — that fought for by Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey or that fought for by England, France, Italy, and their allies?

What are the probable results to civilization of German imperialism if the Teutons succeed in carrying out their program? The Imperial Chancellor, von Bethmann-Hollweg, in addressing the Reichstag the 28th of May, 1915, summed them up in referring to the change of situation caused by Italy's entrance into the war: "The greater danger we have to confront . . . the more we must endure until we have conquered and have secured every real guarantee and assurance that no enemy alone or combined, will dare again a trial of arms. . . . In holy anger we will wage

¹ This chapter and the two following were written before March, 1916. The death of the author in March of that year has prevented revision.

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this war until we have conquered." This purpose and the means by which alone it can be realized threaten the welfare and the very existence of every civilized state and could be effected only by Prussianizing Europe and the world. There would come from this certain though few good results. It would bring about almost everywhere a higher degree of efficiency in the entire domain of public and private economy than now prevails. This would mean much in agriculture, for in most lands the methods employed are shamefully unintelligent and inefficient, and also great gain in manufacturing and commerce, for in these fields Germany has forged to the front, although this has been accomplished partly through a policy of economic dishonesty (heavy bonuses and subventions) which if continued much longer would have worked disastrously to herself. Further, in municipal government and the civil service of most peoples important reforms would be introduced. In some countries the system of public-school instruction would be bettered if reorganized on the German model, in others it would suffer great injury, for it might be unlawful for children to use the language of their parents, and where efforts are persisted in for destroying that most precious possession, love of country, a grievous and unbearable

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loss would result for which no gain in school organization and the art of pedagogy could begin to atone. The Germans have degraded teaching in the earlier and middle grades into propagandism of a narrow and arrogant national egoism which puts itself in place of true patriotism. This leads directly to a false view both of Germany and other peoples and to an untrue interpretation of history which, in making the German citizen a facile tool of his own government, disqualifies him for understanding other nations or dealing with them intelligently save in business lines. The number of benefits accruing to the world from German victory would thus all be included under two heads: increased production of material things and more efficiency of government.

On the other hand, what evils would attend this success? A long black list it would be. German victory would mean that the settlement would be effected not by a European congress, like that of Vienna, nor by a world congress, each state of which would consider the rights and interests of all peoples represented, but it would be decided as that of Europe would have been decided a hundred years ago had Napoleon won. Just as in that case Napoleon would have fixed the terms of settlement, so now William II, czar of Prussianized Germany, would

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plan the ordering of a subjugated and helpless world. In such a settlement not one function of a congress would be exercised. There would be, of course, a conference with Turkey to arrange for distribution of the spoils, and the Turks would probably gain back a portion of what they have lost in Europe, and to Austria-Hungary would be given control of the Adriatic, thus realizing the object for which the dual despotism went to war.

Germany would treat her foes and such neutral peoples as stand in her way as she did France at the end of the Franco-Prussian War, but far worse. Then the course of the conqueror was directed by Bismarck; in this case it would be shaped by the German emperor and his militarist followers supported by a nation crazed by success, indoctrinated with the creed of hate, and thirsting for revenge, power, spoils, and future security in their enjoyment. Besides, she would labor under the sense of making a vastly larger sacrifice and be swayed by a degree of self-confidence and self-worship as much stronger than the giddiness of 1871 as her victory over the Allies of to-day would be greater than that over France a generation and a half ago. What her acts of spoliation, cruelty, and oppression toward her victims would be may be foreseen and judged from her savage conduct in the war.

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The Prussianized Germans know well that they cannot attain the end for which they fight save through such an exaltation of the power of their country, such an habitual fear on the part of her enemies, and such a permanent reduction of their resources for making war as would place them under her permanent control. The Germans also know that Great Britain, Russia, France, Italy, Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, and the other nations which sympathize with them can never accept and keep that relation of abject fear to which Prussianized Germany proposes to reduce them save by being degraded from the rank of sovereign states. This is a large undertaking and would require a long time for completion. The millions who have already perished and the other millions maimed or permanently injured in health and efficiency are only part of the human cost of this unholy war for her own aggrandizement by Germany, and the degradation of the noblest peoples of the earth—who have contributed most to human freedom and to other of the highest elements of civilization—into timorous vassalage would be only one portion of the moral cost.

The measures which Napoleon took after conquering Prussia in 1806 to guard against the risk that his enemies would not "dare again a trial of

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arms " did not accomplish their purpose, as he learned too late during the War of Liberation and at Waterloo. Bismarck made a like miscalculation in the terms he imposed on France at the Treaty of Frankfurt in 1871. With these examples before her, Germany, if victor, would lay conditions on the vanquished in which there would be no danger of leniency. She would — if true to herself — make as free use of frightfulness in gathering the fruits of victory as she has done in efforts to "hack her way through" the ranks of her foes, and the more drastic the measure for producing and maintaining fear in the subjugated, the more to her liking would it be. Victory does not humanize the victor; the worst atrocities of a ruthless foe and when men are most like demons often begin at the moment when victory is assured.

What guaranties would Germany, if successful, undertake to secure? Judging from her history and her character as revealed by this war, the fair answer is, All measures necessary to the end in view. Such might be inhumane and immoral, but would that prevent their use? No; for this end is in the highest degree immoral and inhumane. By word and practice she proves her belief that the state is not obligated to be either humane or moral. With her the conclusive test of a proposed measure is efficiency,

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and only when its evil features lessen this are they considered, and then solely on grounds of expediency. If her victims should object that the guaranties extend the practice of frightfulness into times of peace, she would reply that the state may do what it will in times of peace as freely as in times of war.

Continued national serfdom to greater Prussia would call for three kinds of measures: those that durably increase the resources military, economic, and political of Germany, those that permanently decrease these resources of the vanquished, and those that for all time lessen the efficiency and lower the morale of the conquered. One of the most efficacious steps Germany would take to insure this result would be to bring under her exclusive control the sources of materials most useful in modern warfare. By appropriating the iron, copper, tin, and coal mines of Great Britain, Belgium, and France, and the vast mineral and oil regions of Russia, she would go far toward establishing such a monopoly. By adding control of mineral deposits elsewhere no people could go to war without her consent.

She would impose levies of regulated tribute to provide an invincible navy and prohibit maintenance of standing armies and military training in the conquered states. Annual requisitions would be

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made from the vassal peoples of young boys to be educated and trained in Germany at the cost of those countries for service in the armies of the kaiser. These boys would be Prussianized and used effectively to suppress unflinchingly not only actual revolts of their kindred but even all symptoms of unrest. Such levying of human tribute would serve admirably the threefold purpose of adding to the military strength of Germany without cost to herself, weakening her subjugated foes, and inflicting upon them untold humiliations and anguish of spirit. Further toll would be taken in ships, seamen, money, etc. to defray the immense expenses of carrying out her designs for penetration of Asia, Africa, America, and the islands of the sea.

Should Germany win she would acquire the best naval bases belonging to Great Britain and also additional bases, especially for aërial warfare, in all seas and near all important coasts, — a far-reaching measure that would deprive at a blow both the United States and every other country in the three Americas of their chief defense against foreign, especially Teutonic, aggression. She would seize all northern France so as to keep tributary England in awe in case German overseas enterprises meet with possible disaster; she would formally incorporate

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Belgium, and afterward conquer Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, and enough of Russia to make the Baltic an inviolate German sea. In fact, in order to enable Germany to realize her ambition to become the one great world power, she would appropriate all territory deemed desirable on military, political, or economic grounds. She would also demand control over the tariffs of the conquered peoples and domination over schools, the press, literature, and all other means by which public opinion is shaped as may be thought useful in preventing or suppressing possible anti-German propaganda, and, finally, mastery of the foreign policy of her vassals.

She would dismiss from office and exile all statesmen and popular leaders whose influence would be opposed to her. In case of unsuccessful insurrections she would impose crushing indemnities, and in all areas actually incorporated would employ those methods of Prussianizing which have proved so oppressive and disheartening to the people and so futile to the Prussianizers in the case of Danish Schleswig, Prussian Poland, and Alsace Lorraine.

Germany would insist that the subjugated individual and states toil, not to enjoy the fruit of their own labors but to repair the destruction she herself

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had wrought among them, much of it wantonly, and all of it mercilessly and ruthlessly in the process of subjugation. She would also present them with the total bill for the cost to herself of subduing them and depriving them of their own dearest rights, and force them to labor through generations to repay this. To the enslaved toilers only a pittance would be left for the bare support of their bodies. In short, she purposes to leave them solely what would be serviceable to herself in maintaining and enjoying the supremacy which is her confessed aim. In order to accomplish this she must deprive them of all that makes them good citizens, of the power to express love of country, of indignation in word and act at the humiliations and wrongs she inflicts on them, and of all share in the highest privilege an individual or people can possess—that of contributing directly and voluntarily to the welfare and progress of mankind.

Von Bethmann-Hollweg, in addressing the Reichstag, characterized Germany's destiny as the "shield of peace and freedom of large and small nations," and asserted that she uses force "only for freedom's sake" and that her ambition is merely "to excel the others in works of civilization amid the peaceful competition of large and small nations." It is manifest that the kind of freedom she would mete out to

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subjugated peoples would be the negation of freedom and the "safety" such as an all-powerful slave-master bestows on helpless slaves. The German idea of excelling in the "works of civilization" would, if carried into effect, also destroy more than the finest tangible products of civilization, namely, the real freedom of the individual and of nations to determine for themselves what they shall do, in what manner, and under what direction.

If the Germans should win, their theory that "might makes right" and their practice of asserting might by inhuman methods of frightfulness would seem to have received Divine sanction. God — their god — would have delivered his enemies and theirs into their righteous Prussian hands, to be dealt with as they wish. Then a transformation of universal ideals would be required. The world's sacred literature would need to be rewritten so as to destroy the authority and efface the memory of divine and human attributes inconsistent with the new German dispensation. Their theologians would have a difficult task rewriting the New Testament, for they must leave out the Son of Man and his teachings; but judged by some of their pronouncements since war was declared, one does not question their ability to do this. In particular, the all-powerful "Gott"

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would have answered their fervent prayer to "punish England," that enemy who has done most to hinder the chosen people in their plans for the welfare of mankind and, incidentally, for their own exaltation. In the nature of things this confirmation would have great weight in deciding what terms victorious Germany would impose upon the vanquished. It would also react powerfully on the attitude of the Prussianized Germans toward other peoples, making them, if possible, more intolerably arrogant and oppressive than the Mohammedans toward the subjugated Christians. The Nietzschean view of the Christ spirit, as servile and debilitating, would seem to be proved, for the victor would, throughout the war, have rejected the teaching and flouted the example of Christ. If Germany should win, Christ would be dethroned and Nietzsche, Treitschke, and the kaiser raised on high.

After the victorious conclusion of the war for which Germany hopes, and completion of the ghastly process of taking from her crushed enemies "every assurance and guaranty" that they will never again dare resort to the trial of arms, what could she do to compensate for all the evil wrought? In return she would reconstruct out of the corpse of a dead world a new world fashioned in the "blood and iron" image of German *Kultur*.

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The program announced by Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg in international affairs is not unlike that of Macbeth in civil affairs, and involves for humanity an equally tragic close. Indeed, the history of Prussia—the old Prussia of the Great Elector and the later Prussia as enlarged by Frederick II and Bismarck down to and including especially the attempts at extension of empire by William II—illustrates Shakespeare's idea of the outcome of the will to power carried to execution in violation of the moral law. These laws, Shakespeare tells us, are self-avenging; their vindicators are in the moral natures of those who violate them. In only one respect does the likeness fail to hold,—in the working of conscience on the part of the kaiser and the war party.

The truth that every consciously formed purpose, for the sake of which an individual labors hard and incurs felt sacrifices, becomes an integral part of his life and character applies in full force to every durable group of individuals from the family to the state. The German who survives this war will differ from what he was at its beginning, and the source of the difference will be the reaction on him of the motives which have actuated him in fighting and the means he has employed in his hopes to win. Germany

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victorious would have a far larger degree than now of national self-esteem; indeed, not long ago, Treitschke said: "No people ever attains to national consciousness without over-rating itself. The Germans are always in danger of enervating their nationality through possessing too little of this rugged pride."¹

Along with the more complete renunciation of the Law, the Prophets, and of Christ than that already manifest in German character and conduct, the consequent hardening of heart and decay of conscience due to militarism, there must follow deterioration of the German mind. Already it has lost the power to see its own or any other interest in its true relation to that of mankind. A German interest is magnified until it fills the entire angle of vision. This was illustrated when Germany decided to attack France where she was most vulnerable. Her own military advantage seemed to her "the whole thing," the rights of Belgium as beneath her regard. So with Serbia: Germany saw only her own profit and that of her accomplice in control of the Balkans; the far more important concerns and unquestionable rights of Serbia seemed to her altogether negligible. Such willful perversions of the moral vision react unfavorably upon the "judging mind." An honest heart is

¹ "Politics," chap. i, pp. 19-20.

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not less essential to a right decision when interests clash than intelligence. If the will to be unjust presides, the verdict will be iniquitous.

The German plan to weaken and terrorize her enemies — first through slaughter in war and afterwards through the terms she intends to impose upon them — violates at every point and in supreme degree the two obligations which are the foundation of the highest civilization to which man has attained. These are the duty to respect the rights of others and to help them bear their burdens instead of adding to them, — to help them in efforts to rise instead of holding them down and under. These obligations rest on states with as much more weight than on individuals as the opportunities and powers of states are greater than those of individuals.

In its most essential feature the state is not power as Machiavelli and the Prussians assert, neither is it merely a collection of human individuals as others claim. A state is a people organized for a definite purpose, namely, to enable its citizens while retaining every right essential to the attainment of the proper end of their being — the “inalienable rights” to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” — to coöperate on equal terms with their fellow citizens in maintenance of their common rights and furtherance of

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their common welfare. As a state becomes immoral and proclaims itself superior to the moral principles which the good citizen must follow, just so far does it react upon the individual character of its citizens. Thus as Germany in her state morality has passed into the most extreme form of international immorality known in history, so will these reactions be tremendous upon the character of the Germans themselves.

CHAPTER IX

WHAT ALLIED VICTORY WOULD MEAN

IF THE nations allied in war against Germany win, the states of Europe and also the endangered countries of the world will be saved from the dominion through long years of Prussianized Germany. Just as she has made it unmistakably evident for what she fights, so there can be no ground for doubt of the war purposes of her enemies, present and prospective. They fight for the highest and most fundamental of all their rights — to exist as free independent states. They also fight for civilization, to maintain those elements on which its health and worth depend which are the principles of democracy and religion. These basic obligations of the civilized state Germany has disavowed. It is better for the whole world that the Allies win, for they can do far larger service in the cause of human freedom than Germany is disposed or able to do. If Germany's opponents win, probable results to the civilizing process will be safety and freedom of nations, small as well as large, development of national

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types of civilization and their unhindered interaction, increasing influence of what is most sound in democratic ideas, and a more durable basis of international peace.

Aside from this great mission of all the Allied Powers to preserve civilization from Teutonic encroachment, each one has special and honorable reasons for fighting.

Great Britain is in the war because of her keeping faith with Belgium, for without German invasion it is doubtful if she would have entered as soon as she did; but she soon realized that the death struggle was on between the two types of empire, British and German, and must be fought through. On the one side was the British Empire, a family of states and colonies whose democracy and self-government are steadily increasing; on the other, the German Empire, a power whose aim is to Prussianize the world.

Belgium fights for national honor and for the complete freeing of her homeland from the Teuton horde of cruel oppressors occupying her soil, and, once engaged in armed conflict, is struggling for the very breath of life.

France, unjustly attacked, is desperately battling to cast out the pitiless invader, to win back her lost

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provinces, and to gain assured safety from her overbearing and ever-threatening neighbor. She is also striving to prevent Germany from destroying her rightful place in the world. Bernhardi has summed up well Germany's aim toward France, writing before the war:

Just as in 1870-1871 we marched to the shores of the Atlantic, so this time again we must resolve on absolute conquest, in order to capture the French naval ports and destroy the French naval depots. It would be a war to the knife with France, one which would, if victorious, annihilate once for all the French position as a Great Power.¹

Italy believes she is fighting to right an old wrong, to bring into one cultural and political unity those Italian populations that still languish under the scepter of the Hapsburgs, and to break loose from the fetters of that ill-made Triple Alliance which united her fortunes with a people who were her natural and historic foe and with another people bent on her economic and political exploitation.

Russia's motives in her intervention as the friend of Serbia were preservation of that Slavic state and of her own legitimate interests in the Balkans, where her relationship to the peoples is far closer than that of the Teutonic powers. Though Russia has erred

¹ Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War*, pp. 165-166.

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in dealing with Rumania and Bulgaria, it is also true that she has done incomparably more and made vastly larger sacrifices in helping the Balkan peoples in their efforts to recover their rights from their Turkish oppressors than have the Teutonic powers, who would destroy Serbia and Montenegro, make the other Balkan States their dependencies, and secure to themselves absolute control of the Dardanelles. This would exclude Russia, save at their sufferance, from her natural right of access to the *Ægean*. She fights not only for this well-earned right but also for territorial integrity on the Baltic. Finally, she fights to prevent the Teutonic powers and Turkey from carrying out their calculated policy of weakening her,—bleeding her white as a military power. Thus they aim to make her henceforth powerless to serve Christendom against the Turk and hope to reduce her to a negligible factor in executing their program of egoistic, aggressive policies.

The world has deep need that Russia fulfill well the mighty tasks which rest on her; that she become tolerant and enlightened in her policy toward religion, that her people be educated, that her government cease to be oppressive and corrupt, and that her manufactures and commerce increase. Mankind's future progress depends much on her doing what Japan did,—putting

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aside or reforming in her spirit, policy, and institutions whatever bars her progress and separates her from other peoples with whom she needs to have freest, fullest, and friendliest intercourse. To Russia has been assigned a very important duty as civilizer; to perform this she needs to protect herself from encroachments of the Central Powers, grow accustomed to intercourse with the powers of the Entente and the neutrals, and coöperate with them. This will be a new object of national aspiration and effort, since with Allied victory she will have for the first time in her history a fair opportunity to realize an old object, as old as the days of Peter the Great. This would bring her and the Slavs fully under the influence of those elements of Occidental civilization that would help her most.

Ethnically Russia's basis is in the main Slavic, not so fully as the ethnic basis of English-speaking North America is Anglo-Saxon, but still it is predominantly Slavic. Her civilization yet bears marks of its derivation from foreign sources, both European and Asiatic. The Greek Church, in most essentials identical with Latin and Protestant Christianity, is nevertheless the one of the three great divisions of the Christian religion—itsself of Asiatic origin—which was developed under conditions wherein

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Asiatic influences were a far larger element than in those under which Latin and Protestant Christianity evolved. There was established again through the fierce invasions of the Mongols in the thirteenth century a new and durable Asiatizing influence, this time not from western but central Asia. Although Slavic Russia was able after long struggles to subjugate the Mongols, she did not expel them or wholly free herself from the effects of their domination.

Intellectually and politically as well as in her economic life, Russia has looked to Europe rather than to Asia for guidance, with fruitful results, and has been paying off the debt by the creation of a Russian literature which depicts the elemental in human nature and experience with fidelity and power. In economic and political matters her European teachers have been predominantly, as was natural, her nearest neighbors, the Germans; but Russia is in the process of finding herself; she is tired of German tutelage. This war will bring her compensations if she looks henceforth not to Germany but to the democracies of the world for light and guidance. In saying this there is no reflection on Russia; her achievements, in view of her relations both to Asia and Europe and of the retarding experiences she has undergone, are really wonderful. She has been militaristic because

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in her situation military power was and is a condition of deliverance and safety. Her government has been autocratic because for a long period autocracy was for her the most efficient form of government. It has been bureaucratic because with the material for civil administration at her command, that too at first seemed the most eligible mode of government; it became corrupt on account of the impossibility for a long time of establishing under existing circumstances and with the support of enlightened and exacting public opinion a high standard of honor in public service.

In reply to criticisms of certain unfavorable conditions in Russia, it seems fair to urge that we take "Mighty Russia" as a fact and ask, in view of conditions as they are, what is the best way to deal with her in order that she may become in a higher degree than at present both a benefactor and a beneficiary of civilization? For her good and that of the world what is needed is not violent repression, extreme weakening, and denial of free and safe access to the oceans (the Teutonic policy toward Russia), but, on the contrary, encouragement, coöperation, and permanent, open access to the oceans under international guaranty. The Russian menace which Germany professes to fear has its source very largely in the

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irrational and unjust course the European powers have pursued toward Russia. That vast country — through receiving and absorbing the shock of the great Mongolian invasion, by her immense sacrifices in expelling the Turks from Europe, and by the indispensable services she rendered in the overthrow of Napoleon in 1814 — has deserved more and better of Europe than she has received. The present attitude of the Allies seems an earnest of the dawn of a new day when, with their victory, the powers of Europe will recognize their obligations to Russia, and instead of working against her legitimate interests and policies, as they have often done hitherto, with disastrous results, they will work with and for her and themselves with happier results.

With the Allies victorious, another probable result will be a juster, more humane, and civilized European policy in Africa and southeast and eastern Asia, in which the United States would heartily coöperate. This success will prepare the way for an honest instead of a feigned acceptance of the principles formulated by John Hay.

Considered from the standpoint of civilization, the purposes of the Allies as officially announced embrace not only the question of safety for the states

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that Germany has attacked and reparation for these wrongs but the determination to crush what in Germany is the source of aggressive conduct. As for the first two purposes, in honor and prudence the Allies could attempt nothing less. In regard to their third purpose, to crush militarism, which they consider the source of the calamitous war, it may be doubted whether it is so in the sense or degree supposed. The real thing that makes Prussianized Germany a constant menace to the peace of Europe and the world has been her ambition to dominate Europe and the world. The best cure for that unrighteous ambition is to show her that by no possibility can it be realized.

Of all the world states Prussia has been, and since 1870 Prussianized Germany has become, the most conspicuous example of militarism and, in view of its moral, social, and political reactions, its most conspicuous victim. The victory of her opponents over Germany will be such a defeat for militarism, when exhibiting its true nature most flauntingly, as to discredit it even in the homeland, where its gory altars now smoke with incense as never before. The peoples who fight for their right to exist in "freedom and safety" against the aggressive aims of Teutons, Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Turks recognize clearly

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that their real enemies are two: kaiserism and militarism, partners in the enterprise for the conquest of the world. They recognize further that each of these is indispensable to the other, that to separate them lessens their power for evil, and that the defeat of either is the defeat of both. This means deliverance of the world from its greatest menace—the ending of armed peace and the breaking of the nightmare of terror into which the world would be plunged by Prussian victory.

There is ground for hope that the victory of her opponents will result in liberation of Germany. At least it will prove to her people that aggressive policies lead to acceptable results only when the victims have to pay the costs. Had the German people thought it possible that their armies might not prove invincible, and that they themselves might have to pay the indemnities instead of spending them for their own pleasure and profit, it is probable that their cheering when the German government "pressed the button" which brought on war would not have been so hearty and that their joy when the Imperial Chancellor announced that Germany had broken her word and violated the neutrality of Belgium would have been less delirious. It is possible, too, that when the truth

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leaked out how wickedly and inhumanly German armies had dealt with the Belgians some expression of disapproval and even of protest would have found utterance in the press, the pulpit, or the Reichstag, so loud as to be heard in other lands. No true friend of any people can reasonably wish that people success in doing wrong. What makes the individual and nation survive is that they are checked in wrongdoing by failure.

If the opponents of Germany win, a sure result of their victory will be a humanizing of war. The Allies claim that their methods of making war are far more humane than those of the Central Powers. As in the face of strong temptation this has been true, we may depend on them, if victorious, to use all their influence to bring about a revision of its rules in the interest of humaneness.

The Allies have won support through their more civilized methods just as Germany by her policy of frightfulness has aroused new enemies. The flames of Louvain, Aerschot, Dinant, and Rheims have set fire to the righteous wrath of the world.

When will Germany be completely defeated? Not until she consents to make full reparation for the reparable wrongs she has committed; not until the world secures "every possible real guaranty and

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assurance " that Germany " alone or combined " will never again attempt what she undertook in bringing on and prosecuting this most calamitous of wars,—for then only can the states and the civilization which she has endangered be safe. When will peace be assured? Not until Germany concedes to other states all she claims for herself, surrenders the purpose of making her way to world domination by appeal to the fear created and maintained by the acts of frightfulness, and adopts a policy that will win and keep the confidence, respect, and good will of the other states of the world,—small and weak as well as great and strong,—and the older civilized and civilizing Germanism is restored, supplanting the Prussianism of William II and his militarist supporters.

In the interests of civilization and the civilizing process it is necessary that as quickly and fully as possible those very valuable fruits of civilization damaged or destroyed in the course of the war be restored. These are not the fortifications of Belgium, the library at Louvain, and her monuments of civic art; not the matchless Cathedral of Rheims; not the churches with their invaluable and irreplaceable contents nor the ravaged fields and homes. These do insistently demand restoration and return to their

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owners; but there is a higher concern, illustrated by the sufferings of Belgium and France, Poland and Serbia, —the moral and spiritual. Here the havoc wrought is far greater and the losses far more appalling. When Germany broke her promises to Belgium and her European fellow nations, she attempted to deprive the world of the highest and best gifts civilization has bestowed, namely, the sense of obligation to keep faith, to be just and humane. Should the outcome of the war not rebuke her for this; should it fail to bring her back to the position which every civilization is bound to take and maintain, that of upholding rather than denying these primary obligations of civilized humanity; should it not secure from her such acts of expiation as will prove her repentance,—the worst of the wrongs inflicted in this war will be unrequited. The desirable issue of the war must vindicate the binding force and sanctity of those very obligations of honor and morality which Germany undertook to send to the scrap heap.

This result, only possible if Germany is defeated, must also reëstablish the principle that every civilized state has the right to exist and possesses all those rights generally recognized as belonging to statehood. Had Austria-Hungary accepted and acted on this principle, the ultimatum to Serbia would not

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have been sent. Had Germany done this, her ultimatum to Belgium and her treatment of the Belgians would not now indelibly stain her record.

To sum up: What are these things which concern human welfare so deeply that no peace should be made which is purchased at the cost of surrendering them, and the loss of which would be a greater evil than continuance of the war? They are maintenance of territorial integrity of states against an aggressive enemy who would build himself up on the ruin, partial or entire, of other states; the upholding of the sanctity of treaty obligations; repression of militarism; effectual discouragement of ambition to dominate Europe and the world through craft and violence; preservation of freedom which peoples and individuals enjoy in large measure wherever democracy prevails; vindication of the natural human right to justice and humane and considerate treatment on land and sea; and, finally, preservation of the right of all civilized nations to exist in full enjoyment of sovereignty and independence.

These rights Teutons, Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Turks have violated in Belgium, France, Poland, Serbia, Armenia, and on the seas on a scale and by methods which exceed in horror the worst deeds in the records of savagery. These deeds and policies

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and the fundamental character and purposes of the peoples who perpetrate these deeds and frame and support these policies have made it clear to the peoples fighting the Central Powers that not only are they fighting for the right to exist and be free but that they are battling against the most dangerous enemies civilization has encountered since the beginning of the Christian era. In this war the fate of civilization hangs in the balance. In victory for the foes of Germany lies the hope of the world.

CHAPTER X

AFTER THE WAR A NEW WORLD

ASSUMING Germany defeated and the peril of a world in chains removed, opportunity will then be present for a strengthening of the process of civilization. Two difficult questions will, however, confront us: how to guard against the recurrence in Germany of the craze to attain world power through violence or the appearance of this mania in any other militaristic state, and how to deal with the victims of this malady so that they shall coöperate faithfully and efficiently with all other civilized states in the advance of civilization instead of working for its overthrow. Should the world go back to its old individualistic ways, one of the greatest opportunities for progress in the lifetime of the race would be thrown aside.

The starting point of keeping Germany and her allies from renewing their passion for world power or of preventing this in some other militaristic state is to make them undo, as far as possible, the wrongs committed in this conflict, thus proving to them

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that such aggressive war does not pay. Can anyone doubt that this will be the most effectual means of discouragement to the Germans? All their wars since the Napoleonic era have been undertaken not in self-defense or from any of the highest motives but to gain an increase of land and a widening of domain. A costly failure will fitly punish the evil motive. Some are inclined to put out of the account all consideration of responsibility for bringing on the war. The Germans themselves do not do this, but base their demands for indemnities at its conclusion on the assertion that the Allies are chiefly accountable for its outbreak. The principle is sound; the aggressors should pay.

In the settlement justice must be satisfied by reparation not only to the nations injured on land, wherein many neutrals also would have ample ground for compensation, but Germany should likewise make good to the peoples she has wronged all she has done on the seas that is lawless and inhumane. All ships sunk in defiance of international law — American, English, French, Italian, Norwegian, and all others — must, if justice be satisfied, be paid for or replaced by Germany and Austria, and reparation made for every passenger and every sailor killed or drowned. Further, in regard to territory, the Allies

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should insist on the following as minima: large cession of south Slavic lands to Serbia and payments by Austria-Hungary to cover losses inflicted by the brutal invasions; return to Italy of Italia Irredenta; repayment to Belgium that will compensate (so far as money can) for what she has suffered from Germany — restoration of all losses in the fullest degree and in the shortest time possible and renewal of pledges to respect her neutrality, with the solemn oath by Germany, under guaranty, that these shall not be treated as a "mere scrap of paper"; return to France of what was taken from her in 1871 and complete indemnity for the terrible destruction wrought in her occupied provinces; repayment of all losses to Great Britain and Russia; return of freedom to the two little countries of Montenegro and Luxemburg; full justice done to the subject races of Austria; and the freeing of Poland. This atonement by Germany and her allies is to be made not only for the sake of the nations which have suffered wrongs but also for the sake of those that have inflicted them, since nothing hurts the moral health of a transgressor more than to escape punishment for evil deeds. This amends is in behalf of civilization and is for the purpose of laying the foundations of durable, genuine peace. What further and more

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exact forms of redress should be made is a question for the future, though it is clear that the neutrals like Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden must gain assured safety from aggression.

The Allies must exclude from their program everything of a vindictive nature and must realize that the proper way to deal with militarism is to prove it evidently useless and harmful. Furthermore they would not be justified in permanently interfering with the Germans in control of their internal affairs. This would imitate the evil example of Germany in her relations toward Russia before the war and toward Italy before that country in breaking with Austria-Hungary brought to a sudden end German efforts to sway Italian policy. It would be quite as wrong as have been the attempts of Germany during the war to influence the international policy of the United States, by stirring up various factions among us.

After fullest possible restitution for wrongs inflicted by Germany and her allies has been made, international relations must be so reconstructed as to insure in the highest degree world peace through international guaranty of the safety of each state against encroachment. One of the compensations of the war is the strengthening purpose of all

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civilized peoples so to reorganize these relations as to make such a suicidal struggle henceforth impossible. No lesson of the war is clearer than that the time has come when the common interests of civilization itself require that the imperfect union of civilized states which has already given us a system of international law and world-wide conferences on the common interests of the nations shall be so developed that aggression upon one member, however weak, of the international association shall be dealt with as aggression upon the association itself.

The fact that more than four fifths of the civilized world is ranged together in support of the pacific policy of the Allies is ground for encouragement in the adoption of such a league. After the war is over, an even larger proportion of the civilized world will be on the same side. If things go on as now, the United States will then have far more influence in shaping the relationship of nations than she has yet had. Our obvious interests are with the Allies and against the cult of militarism and those concerns and passions which are its support. The loss of life on the battlefield, the colossal waste of treasure, the moral as well as physical exhaustion which the war has brought — and to its end will continue to bring — will work to assure this league. We

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have, indeed, hope that the sense of humanity so cruelly lacerated by the operations of the war will reassert its claims, for all its carnage and devastation are surely the work of evil passions and unwisdom. By her thorough cult of militarism Germany has shown that she, more than any state has ever been able to do hitherto, can destroy the world's accumulation of the gains of civilization and also interrupt and turn back that civilizing process through which these gains have been made. What is her reward? That which God bestowed on the Israelites when he permitted them to satisfy their lust in the wilderness: "And He gave them their request; but sent leanness into their soul."

No state acting alone can cure the manifold evils Germany has wrought; they are so fundamental that only an international league can accomplish this. The world stands ready for this reorganization. In truth before the outbreak of the war in 1914 the states of the world had reached the point attained by the American commonwealths when Great Britain acknowledged their independence in the Peace of 1783. This they had achieved under the imperfect union of the Articles of Confederation. However, as they soon learned, this was not strong enough to command the services of the individual members

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of the Confederation in providing for the common interests of all or to make them safe against the predatory policies of other European states. Evils of the most threatening nature compelled these commonwealths in 1787 to form a "more perfect union," whose establishment two years later effected its purpose. Thus the United States came into being. By retaining the principles of self-government the citizens of each state fulfill the essential functions intrusted to them by the commonwealth and exercise those which have fallen to them through their relation to the Union and its government, which far more than compensate them for what they lost when the Union was formed.

The armed peace of Europe which preceded the opening of the struggle in 1914 was the counterpart of the discordant peace of the American Confederation between 1783 and 1789. The only way of preventing this from eventuating in a European war was such a reorganization and strengthening of the international union of states as would provide an international guaranty of safety for each state. But this more perfect union, although attempted in the Conventions of the Hague, aimed at in the treaties for international arbitration, and foreshadowed in the efforts urged by England to submit the

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Austro-Hungarian-Serbian question to arbitration was not achieved. Hence this war, and the resulting conviction that the future safety and welfare of nations and civilization depend absolutely on the establishment of a strong international union.

Does such a remaking of international relations involve sacrifice of natural rights by any state? No; for these give to that state exclusive control only of its own internal affairs. No nation possesses the inherent right to control the domestic affairs of another, any more than it has the right to destroy it by subjugation; while each one has by nature the right to determine its own form of government, make its own laws, and provide for its internal safety in its own way. It has likewise the prerogative to determine its relations with other states up to the point at which such determination threatens their rights and safety. There its innate rights terminate, and those of the community of civilized states begin; for every state has a vital interest in upholding as a principle these inherent prerogatives.

One of the powers of this World League would be to safeguard the independence and rights of the smaller nations and their defense against aggression by powerful neighbors. Such a league could go far toward taking away the ever-present fear which little

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countries like Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland feel when living under the shadow of such a neighbor; a Serbia or a Belgium would know that any assault upon its independence or inherent national rights would be opposed by the full will of this great community of civilized states. Under its special care would be also large states without as yet a fully developed national consciousness, for it would provide against the crass exploitation so frequent in the past and infringements on their sovereignty through appropriation of their territory. It would permit such a nation to develop its own strong normal life and eventually take its seat with the civilized powers of the earth. It would thus do away with the old sores of hatred sure to be felt by any country which has been exploited when weak, and would bring it forward with friendship in its heart toward that association of nations which had helped to sustain its independence through adolescence. Recent instances in our own history have shown the cumulative good of fair dealing and friendliness; for example, the return of the Boxer indemnity to China, the freeing of Cuba, and the settling of the Panama Canal tolls dispute.

There is still, however, in the traditional practices of even the most highly civilized Occidental states toward unorganized or seminational peoples a large

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element of savagery — the source not only of wrong to these people but of demoralization to the exploiters. Thus we see China to-day in the condition of a weak though potentially strong state whose feebleness has been taken advantage of. The civilized world cannot afford to leave in the Far East a country unprotected against conditions which would menace international justice and peace in the future as Balkan conditions have menaced Europe in the past. A world association of states would by wise treatment of China bring her forward as a great ally in the cause of civilization. On the other hand, harsh treatment, exploitation, slicing away a province here and there of her domain (on such an excuse as Germany used, that two missionaries had been slain), and her continued domination by any outside nation would eventually turn awaking China into a stupendous weapon of wrath — of righteous anger — against her oppressors.

Thus the principle which this Association would establish is that the territory inhabited by peoples unable to resist shall no longer be at the mercy of one predatory state or group or become the victim or booty of enterprising or covetous strength. As a further step toward bringing all lands under the sway of justice, the Association would take into its

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control all dealings with undeveloped lands and the backward peoples who inhabit them which are not now in charge of civilized nations. This would at once secure equitable and humane treatment for these peoples, with full consideration of their rights, and would do away with a condition which is a source of international discord and which not infrequently has been an occasion of war. Examples in recent years of how near to war great powers of Europe have come over the question of occupation of such territory are before us in the Fashoda incident and the Moroccan crisis. To the objection that this mode of procedure would not give to the younger civilized states the same advantages for colonial enterprise as the older ones enjoyed, the only reply is that these advantages cannot by their very nature be equalized. The conditions of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries cannot be reproduced; for one thing the moral sense of the civilized states has been developed steadily in its international relations, and the feeling for the rights of all peoples, weak as well as strong, would prohibit now a course of action that earlier was acceptable; and it may be added that the disadvantages, enmities, and wars incidental to the European colonization of the Americas must not plague the later-born nations. A claim advanced

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by Germany to-day to have equal advantages for colonial enterprise with those now possessed by England, France, and Holland, because they were ready to avail themselves of the opportunities of earlier centuries, would be equally valid for the national states yet to be born. Insistence on change of control of such territories as would cause England, a wise and successful colonizing power, to be displaced by Germany, an unwise and unsuccessful colonizing power, would be the greatest of calamities for backward peoples, by the check it would put on their wholesome development toward self-government. The relation of the stronger nations should mean to these backward peoples aid and encouragement in their progress toward civilization. While the Association should make every such possible effort, it does not mean that states which have already established colonies and dependencies shall be interfered with, unless they pursue a policy which world-wide opinion condemns as unjust and inhumane and therefore uncivilized. Should any nation become a cruel exploiter of a people not yet civilized, and especially if that people is incapable of defense against the oppressing state, the Association should bring the offending nation before its bar of justice. However, it must be borne in mind that there is in

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the world no better work for human improvement than that done by colonization, and this may be continued by properly regulated migration.

The Association must have power vested in it. On the one hand, it would be essential to the success of the project to maintain jealously the sovereignty of the individual state over matters of domestic concern, for if this were once infringed no limit to centralization could be fixed, and the result might be unbearable despotism. On the other hand, just as important would be the bestowal of full sovereignty on this League over international matters which breed enmity and war. Provision must be made for an international police strong enough to discourage attack by another league sure to be formed of states unable or unwilling to share its policies. There will be, of course, risk of movements to break up this world union of states, even after all those nations that have consented to its formation have accepted the obligation of membership; but there is strong ground for hope that its benefits will soon give it moral strength and place at its disposal in case of need such ample physical resources as to take away all risk of overthrow.

What shall be the form of this world-wide union of states? Any one which will establish an international

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power willing and able to guarantee to every nation within its membership its essential rights and to make good this guaranty. Each one must be assured of its right to exist in safety and peace and that any international quarrel will be settled by arbitration so conducted as to give the strongest assurance of a fair decision possible within the limits of human justice. Without the relief of this assurance and evidence warranting full belief in the organization behind it, no nation can throw off its burden of anxiety regarding its foreign relations or be free to make unhindered progress along the pathway of civilization. Lacking this strength within the Association, the nations must soon lapse back into the conditions which preceded 1914. With this strength secured, it will be a common agent of the civilized states in deciding upon and carrying into execution enterprises in the interest of all, paramount of which is the cause of peace. It will think in larger terms than those egotistically national by which states build themselves up by despoiling and destroying others.

The Association will be the highest governmental form to embody that policy which has brought peace to the formerly distracted groups that warred within the nations in their early political history. As they yielded to a system which meted equal justice to all,

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apportioned burdens according to strength, gave opportunity to all alike (limited only by native ability) to share in shaping public opinion and policy, and brought their controversies to an impartial court, so will the states which they compose enter this Association for the wider application of such proved social policies. Its work for durable peace will rest on the spirit of fair play, toleration for the other viewpoint, willingness to aid another in trouble, humane principles of action, justice, and the sacredness of the pledged word.

As an agent of peace, what might the Association do specifically to bring aggressive wars to an end? It could cause every one of its members to enter into a binding agreement that each shall respect the rights of every other as fully as it demands that its own be respected, and to accept the control of the Association, in the common interest, of all politically unorganized territory left by the peace settlements in charge of the civilized nations. Within these limits the Association would guarantee the rights of the nations and an equitable division of the privileges and tasks of the colonizing states. Further, the nations should bind themselves not to annex territory after a successful war save at the consent (to be ascertained under direction of an international

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commission) of the inhabitants of the territory that the conqueror wishes to annex—this result to be final only with the consent of the majority of the great powers voting by themselves and two thirds of the remaining powers voting by themselves (such a provision would do away at once with one of the strongest inducements to enter on wars of aggression). Furthermore, the states should be bound: (1) to lay any international grievance before an international commission, giving ample time for it to deliberate and formulate its decision; (2) to respect the decision so given; (3) not to violate under any plea of military convenience or necessity the rights or territory of a neutral state whose right of neutrality it has itself guaranteed; (4) not to exact any indemnity as victor, save with the consent of the World Association of States, as to assessment, amount, and terms of payment; (5) to observe without evasion the standards of warfare as determined by the Association as permissible; and (6) to report to the commission on the conduct of war (which shall sit in permanent session) any infractions which come to the knowledge of any belligerent or neutral members of the Association in order that the commission may have definite grounds for prompt protest or intervention.

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The general Association would work through such a commission as it may establish for restoration of peace, but this should be separate from a second commission on the conduct of war. A third commission for maintenance of peace should be established under whose care would come all matters which threaten its continuance. Thus the Association will become the mightiest of peace agents by working early to smooth away difficulties, maintaining a court of just arbitration whose decisions can be enforced if necessary, robbing aggression of the rewards sought, compelling strict conformity to its rules of humanized warfare by those nations whose cause is permitted by the Association to be put to the battle test, and by staying the hand of the victor when inherent justice and future world peace is at stake.

But can an Association of States do these difficult things? All who advocate this plan think it can. The most serious obstacle is the aims of the Teutonic states; their plot to dominate Europe and the world which more than anything else brought on the war has sustained and prolonged it. The only way to remove this obstacle is for Germany's opponents to push her military defeat to a point that makes clear to the Teutons that world mastery cannot now be realized. When peace is restored, it must

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be made evident that the world has reached a point in its progress which will make a later revival of this aim a predestined failure.

Further obstacles, however, are the egoism of the individual states and the difficulty of securing their efficient coöperation. This egoism is not insuperable ; it is remediable by education. If the true place and function of the state in the political organization of the world were taught in the school, the press, on the platform, and by the lives of the most eminent citizens as diligently as false patriotism and chauvinism are now being taught, we should have a new and strong basis for national altruism and a great quickening of the forces which make for international coöperation. This is quite within the range of human achievement, as is the attainment of these various international ends through a widely extended and growing Association of States, provided it is wise enough from the outset to seek not merely the safety of its own members but also those of the states outside its membership, and comprehensive enough in shaping its policies to think in terms of humanity in its entirety, not merely in those of a league representing a large fraction of humanity.

Beyond its work of organization for world peace, by encouraging emulation the Association may well

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do constructive work along lines pertaining to spiritual, intellectual, moral, cultural, and economic well-being and progress. If such a league is formed and will do the things named, then the world will have secured all the benefits which those leaders who believe in the world state have sought. It will do far more, for it will avoid the terrible evils incident to establishing that state, by the only process by which it could be achieved, — devastating wars.

There are in the world to-day two groups of states which theoretically provide it with a choice of nucleus for this Association, the Entente and the Quadruple Alliance. Both are based on the fundamental principle of such a union, namely, the need in the case of each member of the help of the others in carrying out an international program. The full revelation, however, of the aim of the Teutonic Alliance to establish the sole supremacy of the Teutonic peoples and achieve, thereby, a world peace through universal subjugation, their willingness to violate every law of God and man for this end, and the hate they have evinced on a scale and an intensity unprecedented in modern wars, bars out this Alliance. Such aims and methods can never be a foundation of a durable association of states whose object is friendly coöperation of each member in

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support of the common interests of all. Thus the nucleus of the new international Association must be sought in the Triple Entente, which, with Italy and the United States, will form a most powerful group as the beginning of the new order.

How will such an Association differ from the Entente? In its origin this was an association of three states, two of which, Russia and France, were allies, and the third, England, was not bound by the strict terms of a formal alliance to the other two. The object of the coming Association would differ from that of the Entente in this way: the latter's object was defensive, to protect policies already established and possessions already acquired against Teuton aggression; while the Association as a league of free nations would be banded together to assure the well-being and liberty of all nations. The Entente was static, holding in safety a fixed condition; the Association will be active and spread its protection over the development and progress of the nations. In this organization the almost unbroken sympathy of the United States with France will be a large factor. Equally the United States and Great Britain can effectively help by cultivating the understanding and sympathies which have prevailed for a hundred years, by not entertaining

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petty jealousies, by continuing to submit differences to arbitration, by using coöperatively all their influence in world politics in behalf of freedom and justice, and by countenancing such in other states.

As a necessary precondition of this international Association all civilized countries of the world must have their proportionate share in the settlement following this greatest war of all time. In fact, any widely extended war is a matter which concerns the whole world,—its causes, the methods of the belligerents, and their plans for settlement when the trial of arms is finished. Hitherto the world outside the warring nations has conducted itself too much as if it had no rights or duties, as if even conflicts which imperiled the highest interests of humanity were to be kept entirely to the belligerents. It is as though different individuals making a journey together, each interested to reach a common goal, should stand by idly and in silence while certain members engaged in quarrels that not only stayed the progress of the entire company but threatened to break it up and thus defeat the end for which it was organized.

One hundred years ago, at the close of the Napoleonic wars, European powers undertook to bring to an end the period of strife which began with the

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French Revolution and to create for Europe the conditions of durable peace. We are approaching a new peace settlement. Formal preparations for this should begin not later than the day when the result of the armed struggle becomes unmistakable. How can the peoples that are to take part prepare themselves for this exceedingly difficult and immeasurably responsible task? They need to acquaint themselves with the real nature of their duty, to lay aside all that hinders from its right performance, to enter upon the work with open mind and with full acknowledgment of the successes and failures of earlier humanity, and to do all in the spirit of religious consecration.

What matters should come before this next world congress? Obviously those questions over which the war is waged and those national policies which provoke war. Not only must the issues of immediate justice, reparation, and self-determination of nationality be met, but constructive work must be done on the issues of the future. Some of these are how to attain a radically humanized code of laws regulating practices of war on land and sea and an international tribunal to investigate and judge violations of these laws. What feasible steps can be taken toward acceptance of the moral code of law and arbitration in the relation of state to state? How

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may those doctrines which affirm that the state is power and might is right be made impotent? Unless the world congress can answer such questions and go beyond the mere settling of the war, it will leave undecided the larger question of the international basis of the future. Its achievement would be only the temporary restoration of a broken equilibrium, without providing that it shall not shortly be broken again.

This world congress should be the formal starting point of the new Association of nations. As a congress it will wind up the affairs of the war. As an Association it should carry out the judgments this congress formulates and steer the course of the international life of the future in accordance with the principles there laid down. Its membership should include all civilized nations both great and small, with new members added when they have proved their capacity as civilizing forces. However, no state which has fallen into anarchy should be admitted before recovery, for it would be obviously impossible for it to discharge the duties of membership; and should any state once admitted fall thereafter into this condition, it should lose its position and become subject to such remedial measures at the hands of the Association as are

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proper for enlightened neighbor states to apply to anarchical communities.

The World Association cannot be given an assured and beneficent existence by force alone; it must grow. It has been born already, and is under the guardianship of its friends; this guardianship must be so conducted as to increase as rapidly as possible the number of its true friends. It is believed that by rigorous maintenance of a just international policy such a league would gradually enlarge its membership to include all states.

To sum up: The world's immediate task is to reconstruct the social order, particularly in the field of international relations, so as to save civilization from losses in the future such as it has already suffered in the war and from still more injury through interruption and perversion of the civilizing process. This reconstruction will develop into a World Association. Each state on this strong foundation of a moral and political union will retain and enjoy full freedom in performing its own proper functions, without seeking or wishing to destroy or even impair the complete enjoyment of the same by its fellow states.

At the close of the war there must be a settlement which shall do away forever with the armed

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peace existing up to its beginning, a peace which at any moment could be transformed into war. In its place must be established a just and durable peace, —durable because just. This can be maintained only by the common action of the advanced and powerful states working as and through an international Association. This necessary, coming, eventual World Union is the answer of civilization to the challenge of the World War; and the nations and peoples are destined for the first time to know political maturity as members of the organized world, which some thinkers call the United States of the World.

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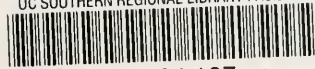
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